The French Revolution-1924

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Wednesday, May 21, 1924

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by George Glasgow

Shall We Limit

by Beulah Amidon Ratliff

Courts or People the Supreme Court? Which Shall Rule?

An Editorial

A Defense of Cowardice

by Llewelyn Powys

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OR ALL THAT THE PRESIDENT has defeated Hiram Johnson in his own State and is carrying one uncontested primary after another things are not going well with him. He has been badly defeated in several votes on the tax measure; he has wobbled dreadfully on the Japanese-exclusion issue; Senator Lodge has thrown overboard his leadership in the World Court proposal; he faces defeat on the bonus; and the charges that he entered into a compact with Henry Ford as to Muscle Shoals will not down. In addition, Mr. Coolidge has selected his wealthy Boston backer, William M. Butler, to head his campaign as chairman of the Republican National Committee-a move which shows less than his usual sagacity, for the election will be won or lost in the West and not in New England, and the West has never liked Eastern political domination as little as it does now. Mr. Butler knows neither the West nor its leaders. One thing is plain, as Senator Norris charged in the Senate on May 6: Calvin Coolidge is playing politics, good or bad, in the White House every day on every issue that presents itself. It is a melancholy spectacle and ought of itself to insure his defeat.

O RUN WITH THE HARES and hunt with the hounds is always a dangerous procedure. Senator Hiram Johnson may not be conscious that he has done so, but his failure to enlist the enthusiastic support of the progressive cohorts who backed him in 1912 and 1920 shows that he no

longer carries conviction with the liberal forces which once hailed him as a champion. Now his candidacy has ended in a fizzle and there is talk of his resigning from the Senate. Hopeless as his campaign for the Presidency was from the beginning, his defeat in his own State is nothing less than tragic. That is plainly another manifestation of the unhappy conservatism of the hordes from the East and Middle West who are now calling southern California home -it was that section which defeated the Senator. Whatever may be said of Hiram Johnson the services he rendered to California as governor ought never to be forgotten by those who profited by his labors at Sacramento. They certainly entitled him to the vote of his own State. In Indiana, too, there is obscurantism a plenty. The overwhelming success of the Ku Klux candidate, the present Secretary of State, in defeating four other candidates in the governorship primary has only one redeeming feature -it smashes the present Republican machine so long and so carefully engineered by Senator Watson. But what does it avail to unhorse one set of bosses to seat another?

UR CONDOLENCES to the "World's Greatest Newspaper"! The Chicago Tribune has illustrated once more the truth that newspaper circulation and influence are not synonymous. It set out to defeat Governor Small, but though it has repeatedly boasted of its political power and though it reiterated its belief in the certainty of his defeat, Governor Small carried the primary by a huge majority. More than that, the Tribune championed the cause of Senator McCormick, brother of one of its chief owners, and the Senator lost in the primaries to former Governor Deneen. There are competent observers who lay the responsibility for the Senator's defeat squarely on the Tribune's doorstep. It is vociferously "wet"; hence not even the Senator's vote for the Volstead Act saved him from the opposition of the "drys." The Tribune ought to feel badly about that because Senator McCormick, with his knowledge of foreign affairs, could ill be spared from the Senate just now. He was one of the first senators to denounce the Versailles Treaty and has kept up a most valuable fire upon Poincaré's vicious policies; from the beginning he has been irreconcilable on the League of Nations. We are the happier to express our sense of the loss his going means for the Senate because we so frequently differ from him on other matters, notably our Caribbean policies. The Tribune, sooner or later, will learn that for all its wealth and circulation it wholly fails to understand the moods, the spirit, and the unrest of the masses who purchase it.

JE CANNOT DISMISS Senator Oddie's complaints against the Veterans' Bureau as easily as does President Coolidge, who is sure that there is nothing the matter with it simply because specific evils have not been laid before him. Senator Oddie, it should be recalled, was one of the investigating committee which recently revealed the unspeakable orgy of graft and incompetence in the bureau under Colonel Forbes, treated in an article in The Nation of March 5. The senatorial committee reported much improvement under the present director, General Hines, but the legislative program that it recommended has not yet been carried out, and it was emphatic in declaring that any effort to reorganize the bureau would fail unless the new head got rid of "a substantial number of the men whom he inherited from his predecessor." Perhaps Senator Oddie goes too far in insisting that the six assistant directors should be "ousted forthwith" as also "every official brought over from the War Risk Insurance Bureau"; but morale sank so low in the Forbes regime that it is hard to see how any leader during that period can develop a right attitude now, even if not personally corrupt. We must have in the Veterans' Bureau a friendly and helpful spirit in place of a policy which, as Senator Oddie puts it, presumes "a majority of ex-service men to be dishonest."

JILLIAM J. BURNS has resigned at last. Wheeler-Brookhart committee, if it has not yet succeeded in putting Daugherty and Burns in jail, has richly justified itself in forcing the retirement of these two misfits from public office. Their failure to prosecute the big criminals and their winking at lesser graft was no worse than their constant persecution of innocent foreigners, whom they denounced, evidence or no evidence, as "Reds." Burns was, after all, probably more of a braggart and less of a confidence-man than Daugherty-his boasts of a dozen different fake solutions of the Wall Street explosion will be recalled-but he was an intimate collaborator in much of Daugherty's dirty work. He named "Ned" McLean as a special agent, and let him use the department code for personal purposes when McLean was attempting to conceal the Fall bribery. His last appearance as a witness before the Wheeler-Brookhart committee was most significant. He confessed that he had detectives shadow witnesses hostile to Daugherty, and that he, Daugherty, and George B. Lockwood, Secretary of the Republican National Committee, met at night in Daugherty's apartment before Lockwood sent Blair Coan to Montana to arrange Senator Wheeler's indictment. After that he conferred repeatedly with Coan. At Daugherty's request he sent an agent to "look into" Senator Wheeler's record, i. e., to "get something" on him. Under the rule of these men the Department of Justice became a department of injustice and it will take all Harlan Stone's energy to clean out their tracks.

RGANIZED RELIGION may be as conservative and as completely a part of the profit system as Upton Sinclair would have us believe, but at least it has its borers from within. The Y. W. C. A., meeting recently in New York, was forced by the younger members to move to let down its orthodox evangelical bars and admit to equal membership Unitarians, Catholics, and all other persons who profess any variety of Christian faith. These young liberals also took their elders to task for discussing endless organizational detail and ignoring the fundamental problems of the day. At the same time a strong group representing the Methodist Federation for Social Service has submitted to the Quadrennial General Conference a thoroughly radical and flat-flooted program calling upon the church to fight for the abolition of the economic and other causes of war, to refuse its blessing or aid for any war. to work for industrial justice and the elimination of unearned income. The Methodist women fought vigorously for equality in the church and finally won the limited right

to be ordained as local preachers. Thus the fabric of conservatism gradually crumbles.

PPARENTLY THE CHIEF BENEFICIARIES of the A McNary-Haugen bill would be the growers of wheat (the price of which it would raise from \$1 a bushel to about \$1.50) and of hogs (the rate on which at the farm it would advance from 7 cents a pound to about 11.5 cents) The cost would fall upon the community in general, includ. ing the great body of farmers who are engaged in otherand economically profitable-kinds of agriculture. In other words, the measure would be a tax upon the very kinds of farming best calculated to survive and into which our un. profitable acres ought to be turned. Moreover, there would be many beneficiaries other than farmers. Owners of elevators, merchants, millers, and speculators-with wheat on hand-would be enriched, while Representative Voight of Wisconsin estimates that the Big Five meat-packers would receive a gift of possibly \$200,000,000. Finally, every middleman would pyramid the subsidy to the farmer-just as was done in the period of rising prices occasioned by the war-until profiteers had mulcted the consumer of many times the amount going to the toiler on the land,

ENUINE PROGRESS has been made toward fair dealing with the Philippines in the bill that has been reported to the House of Representatives by its Committee on Insular Affairs. The original proposal for a wait of thirty years, with a plebiscite in the islands at the end of that time on the question of independence, has been abandoned in favor of an unqualified promise to set the Philippines free at the end of twenty years. In the meanwhile a larger measure of autonomy than exists at present is provided for. In addition to the legislature the Governor would be elected by the islanders instead of appointed by the President. The only limitations of complete self-government would lie with a resident commissioner who upon authorization of the President could annul legislation or call American troops into action. The existing Jones law pledges us to free the Philippines whenever a "stable government" is established. As that condition seems to be already met, twenty years is too long to wait to fulfil our promise. Even so, the Fairfield bill is a welcome change from the subterfuges and evasions that have too long surrounded the issue.

WHY IS IT THAT EXPLORERS seem invariably to develop a lively, direct literary style which should put to shame the professional writers who feebly attempt to praise their exploits? Every time one tries to tell of some blood-chilling adventure in the Arctic or the jungle, on the high seas or the higher Himalayas, one discovers that the object of admiration has already uttered the last perfect word on the subject. The members of the Everest expeditions have put their strain and defeat and humor and valiant persistence into volumes of easy narrative. Every sailor who drifts about the Indian Ocean in a small boat makes a sturdy saga of his experience as soon as he reaches land. And here is Major Frederick L. Martin, commander of the United States Army Air Squadron, who, with his companion Sergeant A. L. Harvey, was wrecked in the fog flying head-on against an icy Alaskan peak, who crawled out alive and walked for seven days through dense mist, blinding snow, endless wind-to final safety and warmth and food

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Major Martin tells his adventures with vivid detail and yet with the decent restraint that marks the style of all explorers. And in common with his kind he describes food, when he reaches that ultimate climax of his story, with a rich and poetic gusto. The meals that adventurers eat when at last they reach port or the base camp or the first settlement! A gorgeous anthology might be made of them if only the compiler could be trusted to keep his own pen out of the soup. Sometimes we wonder with a little anxiety what will happen to the writing profession when the people who do all the things in the world realize that they can tell their own stories.

ONE IS IMPRESSED anew on reading the account of the Pulitzer awards by the kind of tests of excellence applied: "meritorious public service," "moral purpose," "public good," "commendable cause." Such requirements would seem sufficiently hampering in journalism, already burdened with too much editorializing of the news, but to demand that a novel qualify as American by exhibiting the "highest standard of American manners and manhood" is to make possible an award to "The Able McLaughlins" in a year which saw the publication of "A Lost Lady," "Bunk," and "Jennifer Lorn." The play to be honored must raise "the standard of good morals, good taste, and good manners," and the biography must teach "patriotism and unselfish service to the people." Only history and poetry may be judged purely on their merits. A few years, even a few months, after the awards have been made the intelligent public will have forgotten the moral interpretation as a key to the problem and will remember only such facts as that in 1918 Willa Cather wrote "My Antonia," but in the same year Booth Tarkington was awarded the Pulitzer prize for "The Magnificent Ambersons." With all respect to Mr. Pulitzer's will, to judge works of art by the 100-per-cent nature of the service they render is, after all, to court indifference to the verdict.

THE LITERARY CHESSBOARD shifts. Stuart P. A Sherman, most intelligent and independent of the conservative critics (and an old contributor to The Nation), is leaving the University of Illinois to direct the new literary magazine which the New York Herald-Tribune will launch in the autumn, and takes with him as associate editor Irita Van Doren, literary editor of The Nation. Mark Van Doren, assistant professor of English at Columbia University, author of "Henry David Thoreau-A Critical Study" and "The Poetry of John Dryden," and poetry critic of The Nation for several years past, will fill the gap created by Irita Van Doren's departure. Meanwhile, other changes are imminent. Henry Seidel Canby who, with his associates William Rose Benét and Amy Loveman, has made the Literary Review of the New York Evening Post the leading American magazine devoted solely to books, has followed the course which has seemed inevitable ever since Cyrus Curtis added the New York paper to his list of publications-Mr. Canby has resigned. In these days of unprecedented interest in good literature it is hard to believe that he can remain without a medium. Even if under another name, the urbane spirit of the Literary Review must surely live on. There can never be too many good critical reviews, and The Nation, as a sort of 59-year-old great-uncle of the modern brood, welcomes each new arrival with enthusiasm.

The French Revolution-1924

FRANCE IS HER OLD SELF again. By an overwhelming sweep which none of the political wiseacres foresaw she has turned upon the bellicose Poincaré and replaced his war chamber—62 per cent of whose members were ex-soldiers—with an old-time republican, anti-clerical, pacific, near-socialist majority.

It was the provinces which did it. Foreign observers -and even many French observers-are always deceived by Paris. Paris is Paris-more important to France than Washington to America, Berlin to Germany, or even London to Great Britain-but after all Paris is not France. France is still a peasant country, a land of lovingly tilled small acres and of little villages. The peasants and tradesmen of the small cities turned against Poincaré and his saberrattling policy; and they turned not to revolutionary communism but to the same generous, warm-hearted, and rather vague leaders and parties to which they had turned after the revelations of the Dreyfus affair and in the days before the war when Poincaré and Barthou were forcing the Russian alliance and the three-year military-service law upon them. The Radical Socialists-who are, to be sure, neither very radical nor at all socialist-will be the dominant group in the new Chamber, and the Socialists will play as large a part as in that elected in the spring of 1914.

Even in France, then, the war is over. André Tardieu, who abused Poincaré for not being jingo enough; André Lefèvre, ex-Minister of War and arch-monger of stories of secret German armies; Georges Mandel, Clemenceau's right-hand man; Léon Daudet, royalist leader and ally of Poincaré; General Castelnau, and other fire-eating patriots went down to defeat, while Louis-Jean Malvy, who was exiled by Clemenceau for his mildness as Minister of the Interior, and André Marty, who hoisted the red flag over the French fleet in the Black Sea in 1919 and refused to fire on the Bolsheviks at Odessa, were triumphantly elected.

It is the old France come back-but one should not conclude too much from that. Edouard Herriot, the leader of the Radical Socialists, opposed the Ruhr policy before the troops actually marched across the Rhine, but once the die had been cast he said "My country, right or wrong" -like the French Socialists in 1914-and accepted the decision. When the policy had proved its barrenness he resumed his attacks, but many of his party broke ranks and voted for the policy of invasion. Indeed some of its members actually took office under Poincaré. Herriot, however, despite his history of vacillations and hesitations, has consistently demanded a policy of intimate collaboration with England, particularly with Ramsay MacDonald; he advocates acceptance in toto of the Dawes report; he has urged recognition of Russia. While it is still possible that enough of his party may bolt to give Poincaré a bare majority, it seems more likely that the political effect of such an election will be to swing members of Poincaré's army toward the left. Europe will breathe more easily if France puts into her premiership the man who concluded his program-speech on January 11 with these words:

Is it not the mission of republican France, without abandoning any of her rights, to realize the most beautiful phrase which ever rose above the clash of interests and passions: "Peace on earth; good-will toward men"?

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Boss Murphy and Civic Progress

WE have caught ourselves wondering what two former editors of The Nation, Wendell Phillips Garrison and Edwin L. Godkin, would have thought had they lived long enough to take cognizance of the death of Boss Murphy of Tammany Hall. They would have seen leading men of whom one would never have expected it singing the praises of the Tammany ruler of New York. They would have seen a Governor who is a prominent candidate for the Presidency doing public honor to him by whose favor he rose. They would have been amazed at the mealy-mouthed press which passed over Mr. Murphy's death with scarce a word to remind the world what manner of man this was and what constituted his power. Godkin and Garrison called him one unfit "for decent political society"; "a man who cannot speak or write, who is not known to have a single political conviction, whose associations are low, and whose methods smell of corruption." Finally, they would have been amazed to see great throngs standing in the streets to view the funeral of one who held no office, who never contributed in any degree toward the spiritual or civic upbuilding of the city, whose power came solely from the headship of a private political body which has for years been held together by the "cohesive power of public plunder."

Naturally our distinguished predecessors, on viewing all this and on finding that there has been almost a total collapse of the good-government forces on behalf of which they struck such telling blows against Tammany Hall, would, if they were here today, be prone to say that all their work had gone for naught. Yet such a judgment would be mistaken. We do not deny the profound causes for discouragement which exist. We do not deny the almost hopeless odds against which those men battle who are still in office because of their devotion to the public welfare. We cannot conceal the fact, if we would, that, so far as the mayoralty is concerned, we are back where we were before 1894, when the election of Mayor William L. Strong ushered in what appeared to be a definite and lasting awakening of the citizenship. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that no Tammany boss was ever as secure as Charles Murphy when he died; nor that there is endless graft and inefficiency, and doubtless grave corruption, in many of the bureaus of the municipality. We cannot hide the sad truth that the anti-Tammany forces are utterly without leadership; that not one man whose voice can reach and move the multitude is today making front against government by and for Tammany Hall.

Yet this is only a partial picture of the situation of the metropolis. Certainly much that the reformers of 1890-1910 builded remains. No one viewing the city of today who did not know it in the eighties and early nineties is competent to judge of the progress that has been made—it is progress and not mere reaction. New York City was then outwardly and inwardly sordid. The era of its present beauty had hardly begun. Its streets were incredibly paved and incredibly filthy. Harlotry was in open and brazen possession of streets and avenues, paying toll to Tammany when it did not have to divide with some of the Republican politicians. Gambling abounded. The poor were plundered shamelessly in broad daylight. The courts, far worse than

today, were, in their lowest grade, nothing but institutions to punish the unfortunate and plunder the hapless victims of misgovernment who were brought before them. The magistrates were as corrupt, as criminal, as ignorant as most of those whom they judged. Pull, political influence, and the power of money reigned supreme. The Health Department was an incompetent monstrosity. The Department of Charities was a cesspool, the prisons and hospitals a stench in the nostrils of decent folk. There are amazing differences between the social service of the city in 1890 and that of 1924, while the Health Department of New York today, even under Mayor Hylan, is a scientific organization of merit. More than that, where all offices were once filled by the bosses, today, under the civil-service rules, office-holders are measurably secure from spite, revenge, and partisan attacks.

We are conscious, of course, that much of this improvement lies in externals; that underneath there are still infinite wrongs, waste, extravagance, thieving; that in the broad aspect of affairs we are far, far from the millennium. People are still exploited. If commercialized vice has largely disappeared, other evils exist. Betting is not a waning, but a waxing evil. True, civic franchises are no longer sold to the highest bidder; nor is the power of the corrupt corporation managers what it used to be. Tammany itself is cleaner-if by any act of Murphy's, then all credit to him. Prohibition has robbed it of the saloons that were its headquarters on every block. Such vicious gangs as it fostered in many quarters of the city, which did not stop at murder, no longer exist. The Hall's coffers no longer overflow with the earnings of prostitutes. Things have changed and changed markedly for the better. Life is no longer deliberately made harder for the masses by those servants of the public who served only in order to enrich themselves. Even if we had to admit that all this improvement lies in external things we should still be grateful.

As it is, the emphasis has shifted, and Murphy was wise enough to let it shift, to see that the old ways of obtaining plunder no longer held. It is a more refined and polite system which obtains. The blackjack has yielded to deft argument and cynical persuasion. Under Murphy's leadership the coffers were filled, but from other sources. He governed his cohorts amazingly to their satisfaction. He was a despot against whom no one had dreamed for a decade of revolting. He never allowed himself to be tripped, as did Croker. He early took the only proper role for a boss of this character: he padlocked his lips, gave virtually no interviews, and made no speeches. He was even more taciturn than Calvin Coolidge, and like our President he, the ex-barkeeper, built up a reputation for wisdom and profundity by saying as little as possible. Undoubtedly he was a popular boss; and undoubtedly he reached the human side of multitudes; to endless "heelers," workers, and friends he appeared of utmost probity and of absolute dependability.

Yet the system he headed was the same corrupt one which has for generations degraded New York, and today makes possible a rule of favor and favoritism; which puts politics into the schools and the Police Department, and saddles upon the city an Enright and a Hylan; which ham-

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strings real progress, plays into the hands of the transportation companies by making of the Board of Estimate a group of quarreling marionettes, and keeps the whole level of New York political life low indeed, as witness the absolute failure of the citizenship of the greatest city to play

any role whatsoever in House or Senate. Let no one be deceived. Government by Tammany Hall remains a crime against the American democracy. As long as it survives it menaces every municipal government under the Stars and Stripes.

Courts or People—Which Shall Rule?

In this issue of *The Nation* appears the last of a series of three articles upon the position of the Supreme Court of the United States in our government. During late years the court has announced decisions reviewing the constitutionality of statutes, both State and federal, in increasingly important legislative fields. The question presented by this growth of judicial supremacy becomes ever more pressing.

In the first article of the series Mr. Warren makes a powerful historical case for the position that the framers of the federal Constitution intended that the Supreme Court should have the power of passing upon the constitutionality of legislation. While it may be doubted whether the Constitutional Convention would have so empowered the court had it understood the full extent of the power of judicial review which has since been exercised, nevertheless Mr. Warren's historical evidence seems persuasive that such a power was intended and that it has not been "usurped" by the Supreme Court.

The fundamental considerations, however, are not whether the Supreme Court's authority was intended in 1789 but whether, as now used, it is a desirable power for the court to have, and what would be the consequence of limiting or abolishing it. Mr. Warren suggests that to take from the Supreme Court the power to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation would destroy our federal form of government. We doubt if it would mean so much, but certainly to take away that power from the court would accomplish a basic change in our form of government-the elaborate system of checks and balances provided by the Constitution would be superseded by a legislature to all intents and purposes supreme. This seems to us a desirable change. The whole trend of government during the past century has been away from the system of checks and balances, and toward a centralizing of responsibility. The English system of parliamentary government by a supreme legislative body with an executive ministry directly responsible to it and through it to the people has had far more imitators than has our cumbersomely checked and balanced system. This fact may come as a shock to those who have regarded the separation of powers and a supreme judiciary as essential to civilization, but that it is a fact cannot be doubted by anyone who has read Professor Haines's study in our last issue.

We are familiar with the arguments against the English system. It is said that the supreme legislative body is subject to the whims of transitory popular passion, that it gives to the majority the power to tyrannize over minority groups, and that it lacks the protection to individual liberty and to private property which is found in a bill of rights supported by judicial review. Well, so far as the Bill of Rights goes, we have always felt that Hamilton was close to the truth when, writing in "The Federalist" of liberty of the press, he said:

Its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether de-

pend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people, and of the government. And here after all, as is intimated upon another occasion, must we seek for the one solid basis of all our rights.

The constitutional guaranties of individual liberty and private property are indeed worth precisely what their popular support makes them worth, and no more. If the spirit of the people is against the maintenance of the provisions of a bill of rights, those provisions will fail. If it is for their preservation, such a bill of rights needs no Supreme Court to protect it. It is doubtless true that if Congress were supreme it would make many mistakes. So, we believe, does the Supreme Court. Congress will continue to reflect majority sentiment, as the court has often reflected minority prejudices, and there is no assurance that public questions will be decided wisely, merely because they are decided by majority vote or by a few black-gowned judges. None of us is very wise. But such little wisdom in government as has been developed has come from the opportunity to shoulder responsibility, to make mistakes, and to profit by the disagreeable experiences to which those errors have led.

The abrogation of the supremacy of the Supreme Court is not a change which should be brought about alone. If Congress is to be made supreme, it should be made more quickly responsive to popular will, and the likelihood of deadlock between the Capitol and the White House ought to be lessened. The executive power should be placed in the hands of a ministry responsible to Congress, which can compel a change of administration by a withdrawal of its support in much the same way that the government of England changes hands.

Unfortunately so drastic a change in our governmental system, desirable as we believe it to be, is probably not realizable at the present time. The historic American method of political reform-in striking contrast to our industrial technique—is to tinker with what we have rather than scrap it in favor of something entirely new. Thus we must probably move indirectly and by a series of steps toward the supremacy of the legislative power. Senator La Follette proposes a constitutional amendment providing that Congress, by a two-thirds vote, should be able to reenact and validate any of its legislation overthrown by the Supreme Court. Senator Borah and others are in favor of a change requiring the concurrence of seven of the nine justices of the Supreme Court in order to declare an act of Congress invalid. In this issue of The Nation Beulah Amidon 'Ratliff advocates the latter plan, except that she favors a concurrence of seven justices to overthrow State laws and a unanimous judgment to nullify congressional legislation. She argues also that a constitutional amendment is not necessary to accomplish this; that it could be done merely by an act of Congress. In spite of the authorities cited, we doubt whether Congress was intended to have power to circumscribe the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction in the manner which she suggests. In any case we surmise that if such an act of Congress were presented to the Supreme Court that body would refuse to cut off its own head and would promptly hold the law unconstitutional. Moreover, the mere limitation of the majority of the Supreme Court needed to declare a law unconstitutional seems to us to miss the heart of the issue. Such a reform might result only in the appointment of fewer Holmeses and Brandeises to the supreme bench.

Still, even if unsuccessful, the passage of a law such as Mrs. Ratliff proposes might provide a good beginning for a campaign to restrict the power of the Supreme Court. If it proves necessary—and we think it will—to amend the Constitution, then we would prefer the La Follette plan to any of the others, as giving a result more nearly in line with the principle involved and more commensurate with the time and effort required. The issue ought to be faced squarely and understandingly by the American people, and we believe that until the voters insist upon the supremacy of their will, and that of their representatives, there can be no development of modern and progressive democracy in the United States.

Historians and the Truth

THREE cheers for Harry Elmer Barnes! Not only is he an extraordinarily incisive writer, a sound delver into the truth of history without fear or favor; he has dared to handle delinquent members of his craft without gloves. By doing so he has violated one of the most firmly established traditions of the historical set. If you are a historian the first canon is to say nothing unkind about any co-worker in your field lest thirty years later that become a stumbling block to your rising to the presidency of the American Historical Association. Professor Barnes correctly says that if he had conformed to the Rotarian urbanity "which characterizes the public conduct and expression of the majority of eminent and respectable American historians" he would have "violently cursed the book privately among intimate friends, and then maintained a dignified and immaculate silence in public." Now he has gone and done it, and if he is not an historical pariah hereafter we shall be astonished.

Mr. Barnes's offense is a brilliant review written by him for the New Republic, in which he told the truth about Charles Downer Hazen's new edition of his "Europe Since 1815." In that review he characterized as "worse than bunk" Professor Hazen's book and Professor E. R. Turner's "Europe Since 1789"-dangerously unparliamentary language for a scholar to use if it were not the truth. Returning to the attack, he charges that books like these "will pervert the information and stultify the intelligence of many thousands of the best young minds of the country." This indictment is due to the fact that in his new edition Professor Hazen has not changed one word in the chapter on the origins of the war which he wrote in 1916. Since that date an enormous mass of evidence as to the causes of the war and the events which led up to the catastrophe has appeared. Any fair-minded person studying this evidence must share Mr. Barnes's conclusion that one must revise one's opinion as to the causes of the war and the part that the Germans played in bringing it on. This does not mean, as The Nation has repeatedly set forth, that one must accept the prevalent German view that Germany was merely an innocent victim and herself guiltless. Far from it. But the researches of men like Mr. Barnes and Professor Sidney B. Fay, not to mention many others, and the exposures of E. D. Morel and Frederick Bausman make it necessary for any unbiased person to discard once and for all the idea that Germany was the sole criminal and that her moves in July and August, 1914, were the expression of a deliberate intention to subjugate the liberties of the world. That, in the light of the documents which were surveyed in The Nation for October 11, 1922, is nonsense.

We have no desire today to thresh anew this old straw. History is rewriting itself, or rather honest historians are rewriting it, because the facts are coming out, and when some future revolution opens the archives of Englandwe had hoped that the Labor Government would have done it before this-and those of France to the light of day we may see still more astounding revelations. What we delight to celebrate today is Professor Barnes's smashing of the taboo laid upon historians not to criticize one another. We wish that there were a chance that his challenge to his craft to bring Professors Hazen and Turner "to judgment before the bar of professional historical opinion," might be taken up; in our judgment that would be the best thing that has ever happened to the teaching of history in If the American Historical Association were worth its salt it would set the wheels in motion without further delay.

What could demonstrate better the need of such a shaking up as this would give the whole body of historical scholars in America than a phrase used by Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University in his comment upon another article by Mr. Barnes, Assessing the Blame for the World War, in the May Current History? This article, a magnificent summary of the new evidence, was considered too dangerous to appear in that magazine without a comment by a member of its board of associates. The task was assigned to Mr. Hart. This is the conclusion to which he comes: "The subject is too involved, the underlying race and language antipathies are too strong, the confusion of relations in Eastern Europe too complex to make any review of printed testimony a safe basis for changing an opinion which was forged by the fires of war' [italics ours]!

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What a confession for an historian and an ex-president of the American Historical Association! What right has an historian to permit any opinion to be forged by the fires, the passions, the bitternesses, the hatreds of war? If he indulges himself in that sort of thing at all, he ought to purge his soul of it the minute he returns to the land of rationality. He ought to be the very first one to thank Providence for any new evidence, particularly documentary evidence, which would go to establish the truth which every true historian is sworn by the solemnest oath of scholarship to establish and uphold. No man or woman in America who is interested in the facts as to the war should fail to read this article of Professor Barnes. No scholar who refuses to consider the evidence therein, modifying the popular conceptions of 1914-19, is worthy to continue to teach.

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Dawes and the Diplomats

By GEORGE GLASGOW

London, April 26

THE triangular game of reparations, as played by Berlin, Paris, and London, was restarted on April 9 when the experts presented their report to the Reparation Commission. The report had been delayed for the transparent reason that the French experts were attempting the difficult problem of reconciling the political principles of M. Poincaré with the practical economics of making Germany pay. During the week-end of March 22 to 24 the British experts, Mr. R. McKenna, Sir Robert Kindersley, and Sir Josiah Stamp, came to London to explain the reasons for the delay, and on Monday, March 24, the French Ambassador in London called on Mr. MacDonald.

Officially the visit of the three British experts was a private affair and had nothing to do with reparations; for the experts had been appointed by the Reparation Commission, and it was to the Reparation Commission that they had to report. Privately, however, they did as much while in London as ever they could have done officially. They were mainly responsible for the visit of the French Ambassador to the British Prime Minister which took place on March 24. Most of the talking on that day was done by the French Ambassador. The result was so far satisfactory that the British experts returned to Paris that same evening, and the experts proceeded to draft their report.

The French Ambassador had received his instructions from M. Poincaré and therefore had to repeat what he had been saying since January, 1922, except that he raised in a more categoric fashion than before the suggestion that the problem of French security could be solved only by the conclusion of an Anglo-French defensive treaty made for perpetuity to replace the Anglo-American-French pact of guaranty which had fallen through for lack of American ratification. He was, however, enabled to learn that the British plan was of a wholly different kind. In his letter of February 21 to M. Poincaré, Mr. MacDonald strongly hinted that the way to security lay through the League of Nations, possibly through the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, possibly through a special scheme of demilitarization and neutralization of the Rhineland under a League guaranty. The French Ambassador was also enabled to report to M. Poincaré that in the British view a new factor had entered into the situation. The present British Government makes a cardinal point of the necessity of German and Russian membership of the League as a preliminary to any possibility of settlement. Since Mr. MacDonald wrote his letter of February 21 to M. Poincaré he has had it impressed on him by the competent German quarters in London that no German Government will ever accept any arrangement for the Rhineland which goes beyond the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, and that Germany will not at present join the League unless some definite prospect of a seat on the Council is held out to her.

While, therefore, the French Ambassador agreed that the experts might as well finish their job, he had a dispatch to send to the Quai d'Orsay of such importance that M. Poincaré indulged in one of his periodic resignations. He resigned on a side issue on March 26, two days after the MacDonald-St. Aulaire conversation. As the British Government affected to take no interest in the event, he was quickly induced to form another government, which, though it included M. Loucheur, had in no way changed its complexion. As had been the case when M. Poincaré last resigned (on May 24, 1923) his sojourn in the wilderness lasted only a few hours.

On April 9 the experts delivered their report to the Reparation Commission. The report was a long and complicated plan for balancing Germany's budget, stabilizing the mark, recovering the capital that had left Germany, and in short putting Germany into a position where she could reasonably be expected to pay, and could be made to pay, reparations. That was all. Committee No. 1, which had been presided over by General Daves, and on which had sat Sir Robert Kindersley and Sir Josiah Stamp, expressly stated that its business had been "business" in the technical sense and not politics, and that the questions of political as opposed to economic guaranties, as well as of military sanctions, were outside its competence. The report of that committee was a double document of 124 foolscap pages of print in English and French. The second committee's report, which was concerned only with the means of estimating the amount of Germany's exported capital and bringing it back to Germany, was a document of only fifteen pages.

It was the Dawes Committee's report which naturally monopolized attention. Unlike previous expert schemes it not only prescribed a schedule of annual payments, but indicated in detail the sources from which the money should be raised and the method by which it should be handed over. A thumb-nail sketch of the recommendations follows:

- Germany should revert to the position of an economic unit (in other words, the Ruhr should be evacuated);
- 2. She should pledge certain revenues as security for payment, the standard annuities being paid partly from budget revenues, partly from (a) railway bonds, (b) industrial debentures, (c) taxes on tobacco, alcohol, sugar, beer, and customs duties:
- 3. There should be a partial moratorium for the four years to 1928-1929 during which Germany should pay annuities rising from £50 millions to £87½ millions; by the end of that period the payments should reach the standard rate of £125 millions (2½ milliard gold marks) with variable addition calculated on an "index of prosperity";
- 4. There should be a reparations loan of 800 million gold marks (£40 millions);
- 5. A new bank of issue or a reorganized Reichsbank should create a gold currency and withdraw the paper circulation:
- 6. Germany's wealth abroad is estimated at £400 millions

The important question is how far can the scheme be made the starting-point for renewed negotiations between the Allies and Germany. The experts were ruled out from considering the political issues, and it is precisely those issues that matter most.

For instance:

1. The First Committee of Experts declare that although political and military conditions are outside their

scope, yet if and when their economic plan comes into operation two conditions must be observed by the Allied Governments; namely, (a) if any military organization exists it must not impede the free exercise of economic activities; (b) there shall be no foreign economic control or interference other than that proposed by the plan. Now the question is what happens to M. Poincaré's oft-reiterated protestation that the French will never let go of the Ruhr "pledge" except in proportion as Germany pays?

2. Another question is, How can the condition of stability and confidence, as stipulated for in the report, be achieved unless and until Germany's total indebtedness is fixed? The experts have not considered the question of Germany's total liability, and therefore the assumption on which the report is based is that the May, 1921, total still stands as the amount of the Allied demand. Yet that figure has been condemned as an impossible one by both American and British experts, and even French experts have admitted it to be too high.

3. Next there is the question of French demands. M. Poincaré has never abandoned his claim that France must receive a net total of 26 milliard gold marks (£1,300 millions); that is to say, that if she has to pay her debts to Great Britain and America the total of 26 milliards must be increased accordingly. Now, the British White Paper of last August conclusively showed that this French demand is considerably in excess of her share of 52 per cent of the May, 1921, schedule.

4. The experts' plan involves an international loan of 800 million gold marks (£40 millions). It goes without saying that this loan would have to be largely raised in London. The experts further confirm the principle that the loan would be used partly to help Germany to meet essential treaty purposes during the years 1924 and 1925; in other words, 52 per cent of that portion of it earmarked for such a purpose would go through Berlin to Paris. Now, unless there is some satisfactory settlement of the question of the French debt there can be little prospect of British money becoming available for an international loan for Germany, which in the circumstances would be tantamount to a further British loan to France.

5. Assuming the satisfactory arrangement of the political problems above mentioned, there would have to be some assurance that France would not again in any contingency take separate measures against Germany, such as the occupation of the Ruhr.

6. Finally, there is the question of the Ruhr expenses and proceeds, if any. Are the proceeds, which are now represented in Paris as being abundant, to be credited to the Reparation Commission's account?

In a word, the experts' work was the least important part of the problem, although the fact of America's participation, unofficial as it was, in that work had the effect of adding moral weight to the argument for a reasonable settlement. How important and how delicate were the political, as contrasted with the expert, difficulties was shown within forty-eight hours of the presentation of the report. The French press, on the obvious inspiration of the Quai d'Orsay, began to speculate on the introduction of modifications into the experts' scheme and on the elaboration of additional measures of control.

The anxiety which was thereby created in British and American quarters was due to the reflection that as matters stand, and as a result of the withdrawal of the United

States from official participation in Allied affairs, a Franco-Belgian bloc on the Reparation Commission, backed by the French chairman's casting vote, can carry anything it likes. The withdrawal of America has left France with the whip hand in the Reparation Commission. The remaining delegates are four-the British, the French, the Belgian, and the Italian. Even assuming that the Italian delegate votes with the British, there is an equal bloc on the other side. for Belgium always takes her cue from France; and the matter is therefore decided by the casting vote of the chairman, who happens to be the French delegate. That the chairman should always be French is again America's responsibility. It was provided by the treaty that at the first meeting of the Reparation Commission a chairman should be appointed. As the commission sat in Paris, it was a matter of courtesy that the first chairman elected should be the French delegate. The chairman is appointed for a year, after which his successor is appointed, but the actual chairman is eligible for reelection, and the Franco-Belgian bloc is of course in favor of retaining the French chairman indefinitely. It is obvious, therefore, why any French move toward tampering with the experts' recommendations was a cause for anxiety. When the experts drew up their report, there was some friction over an important point which finally the British and American experts succeeded in carrying. It was that the experts' recommendations should either be accepted and applied as a whole by the Reparation Commission or should be rejected as a whole. The French experts in the end agreed to the incorporation of the following clause which duly appeared in the text of the report:

In the first place we regard our report as an indivisible whole. It is not possible, in our opinion, to achieve any success by selecting certain of our recommendations for adoption and rejecting the others, and we would desire to accept no responsibility for the results of such a procedure nor for undue delay in giving execution to our plan.

But within forty-eight hours of its presentation French quarters began to explore the prospect of modifications of the scheme in two important directions. They raised the novel cry of a progressive economic evacuation of the Ruhr. This was palpably designed as a challenge to that clause of the report which declared:

It is our duty to point out clearly that our forecasts are based on the assumption that [Germany's] economic activity will be unhampered and unaffected by any foreign organization other than the controls here provided.

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That clause clearly implied the necessity of an evacuation of the Ruhr by the French. "Yes," in effect answered the French, "we will put an end to the military occupation of the Ruhr, but we shall not evacuate economically except in proportion as Germany pays"; thereby adapting the notorious formula. As a further refinement French semiofficial quarters exercised their well-known flair for a bargain by suggesting that the French military evacuation of the Ruhr should be paid for by a British cancelation of the French debt! The main point, however, was that the major French suggestion, that of substituting a formula of progressive economic evacuation for one of military evacuation, was directly opposed to the recommendations of the experts. At the same time the same French quarters speculated on the devising of additional measures of control over and above those enumerated in the experts' scheme, therein again violating the express recommendations of the experts.

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Shall We Remake the Supreme Court? III. May Congress Limit the Supreme Court?

By BEULAH AMIDON RATLIFF

(This is the concluding article in a series of three on the Supreme Court. The first, on The Origin of Its Power, by Charles Warren, appeared in the issue of May 7, and the second, on The Practice of Other Countries, by Charles Grove Haines, was printed last week. An editorial article on the question will be found on page 575 of this issue.)

THE recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, declaring the minimum-wage law of the District of Columbia unconstitutional and imperiling the minimum-wage laws of the several States, has brought sharply to the attention of the country the increasing power of the Supreme Court over national and State legislation. A storm of protest has followed the minimum-wage decision, and a number of plans have been suggested for limiting the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional.

Senator Borah has introduced a bill into Congress which seeks to correct the familiar evil of the five-to-four decision, by which one justice of the court overturns the work of State legislators or of Congress. Senator Borah's bill would do away with this "one-man rule" by requiring the concurrence of seven justices to declare a statute unconstitutional.

Large business interests are, of course, enthusiastic defenders of the "sanctity" of the Supreme Court, as the power of the court to declare laws unconstitutional is more often a benefit to conservatism than to progress. These sources embody the chief opposition to any limitation of the power of the court, because it is increasingly apparent that unless the Supreme Court's power can be limited in this field the extremely slow and difficult process of constitutional amendment is the only way to secure legislation tending to modify in any way the economic status quo. The federal income-tax law, the federal child-labor law, and the minimum-wage law are only three of the factors leading to this conclusion, so discouraging to liberals, so extremely gratifying to reactionaries.

In the case of Senator Borah's proposal, as in the case of many similar suggestions, the favorite tool of the opposition is the "constitutionality" of the measure in question. "The Constitution vests the judicial power of the United States in a Supreme Court," this facile argument runs; "therefore Congress has no right to tell the Supreme Court, or any other court, how it shall exercise its judicial function."

The cases to which the jurisdiction of federal courts extends are specified in the first paragraph of Section 2, Article III, of the Constitution. The second paragraph of the same section divides the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court into two classes. It reads:

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

That is, the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is conferred by the Constitution itself. It cannot be taken away or limited by Congress. As to this jurisdiction, the Constitution is "self-executing," to use the legal phrase, But the appellate jurisdiction of the court, under which it derives its power to declare laws unconstitutional, does not come into use until Congress speaks, and as soon as Congress speaks its word becomes the exclusive guidance of the court's power.

Ellsworth of Connecticut had a prominent part in framing Article III of the Constitution, establishing the judicial department. He was also a member of the Senate in the first Congress and chairman of the committee that drafted the Judiciary Act of 1789, which still serves as the basis of our whole federal judicial system and practice. In 1793 he was appointed Chief Justice by President Washington, and wrote the opinion in the leading authority on this subject, Wiscart vs. Douchy, 3 Dallas 321, 327. In that opinion he held:

Original jurisdiction, however, is confined to ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those cases in which a State shall be a party. In all other cases only an appellate jurisdiction is given to the court; and even the appellate jurisdiction is likewise qualified; inasmuch as it is given "with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make." Here, then, is the only ground on which we can excercise an appellate jurisdiction.

This doctrine has obtained for a hundred and twenty years, and was clearly and concisely restated not long ago by Mr. Justice Gray in American Construction Co. vs. Jacksonville Railway Co., 148 U. S. 372, 378 (unanimous decision): "This Court, therefore, as it has always held, can exercise no appellate jurisdiction except in the cases, and in the manner and form, defined and prescribed by Congress." (Italics mine.)

The same theory is developed by all the leading textbooks on constitutional law. For example, in Section 1773, Story on the Constitution, we read:

The appellate powers of the Supreme Court are not given by the Judicial Act. They are given by the Constitution. But they are limited and regulated by that act and other acts on the subject. And where a rule is provided, all persons will agree that it cannot be departed from.

Clearly, then, the only part of the judicial power that is beyond the control of Congress is the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, expressly defined by the Constitution. It has been held by the Supreme Court itself from the earliest times that Congress has plenary power over the Supreme Court in all matters falling within its appellate jurisdiction. This power has often been used by Congress to "regulate" the limits of the Supreme Court's appellate jurisdiction, within the bounds set by the Constitution. Perhaps the most famous example of this type of regulation is the notable case, Ex Parte McCardle, 7 Wall. 506. Under an act passed in 1867 the court was given jurisdiction to review writs of habeas corpus in certain cases. In the carrying out of the reconstruction program

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it was found that the court had rendered a decision under this act which was embarrassing to the Federal Government. A reargument had been granted. While this was pending Congress repealed the act of 1867 which gave the court its jurisdiction over writs of habeas corpus. Counsel for the prisoner urged with vehemence that the only purpose of Congress was to prevent the court's pronouncing of judgment in a case which it had fairly heard and was about to decide. These facts were clearly shown in the debates in Congress. Nevertheless the Supreme Court declared that its power in the matter was ended, and that it no longer had any jurisdiction except to dismiss the appeal.

But the authority thus to confer and deny appellate jurisdiction, within the limits set by the Constitution, is only one phase of the congressional power to regulate the Supreme Court.

Marshall's definition of the power to regulate interstate commerce reads: "The power to regulate interstate commerce is the power to prescribe the rule by which the commerce is to be governed." (9 Wheaton 195.) Mr. Justice Gray applied this definition to the regulation of the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in the case cited above when he said that the appellate jurisdiction can be exercised only "in the manner and form defined and prescribed by Congress."

That is, Congress not only can confer and deny the appellate jurisdiction of the court, but it can also make the rules under which the Supreme Court may exercise that jurisdiction. This is not "telling the court how it shall decide its cases." It is the application of the express power of Congress to fix the rules under which the Supreme Court shall decide the cases carried to it on appeal.

Many able lawyers contend that the power to declare laws unconstitutional is a pure usurpation on the part of the courts. The decision in Marberry vs. Madison was rendered a century and a quarter ago. The practice which was then inaugurated has since been followed by the courts and greatly increased. It has had the tacit approval of the American people long enough to make any argument that it is "pure usurpation" academic and unwise. Whether it was the actual intention of the framers of the federal Constitution to confer the power is no longer important. But it is important to know that the power can be defined and limited by Congress, just as any other power under the appellate jurisdiction of the court is subject to congressional regulation.

All students of government recognize a wide difference between the power to declare a national law unconstitutional and the same power to nullify a State law. Congress is a coordinate branch of the same government as the court. The one is bound by its oath to uphold the Constitution in law-making, the same as is the other in lawconstruing. In the case of States the power is necessary to defend the national welfare against State selfishness and to protect national authority against State nullification. This basic difference exists not only as a matter of theory but as a matter of practice. In no country having a written constitution except ours does the power of courts to declare a national law void exist, though the power to nullify State or provincial law is generally recognized and practiced. Mr. Justice Holmes pointed out this difference in an address in New York City when he said that he did not think the nation would have been destroyed if the

power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional had never been exercised, but he did think the Constitution and the Union would have been destroyed by the centrifugal force of State selfishness if the power to declare State laws unconstitutional had not been asserted and practiced.

The fundamental difference thus pointed out justifies a difference in the limitation of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and the same power to nullify a State law.

The rule that the Supreme Court has always professed to follow in passing upon the constitutionality of laws is that where reasonable doubt exists the statute shall stand. The five-to-four decision is, on its face, an infringement of this rule, for, where four of the learned judges disagree with the other five, everybody except possibly lawyers and judges can see only ground for scoffing at the conflict between the court's profession and practice. The fact that one man may abolish the law established by the people, in State legislatures or Congress, smacks more of absolute monarchy than of democracy. The seven-to-two decision would help lift the matter of a statute's constitutionality out of these cloudy realms of "reasonable doubt."

But Senator Borah's measure touches only one phase of the evil with which it deals. The whole subject of the right of our courts to review State and federal laws needs to be overhauled and set in order. The power has been so ramified and extended that the lengths to which the courts go in declaring laws unconstitutional is a constant source of public exasperation. To secure the passage of a law on any subject has become a questionable relief, because it is impossible to foretell what the courts will do with that law. And by the constant destruction of law the Supreme Court is destroying respect for law, because the court itself shows so little respect for the laws which the people's representatives from time to time attempt to establish.

This outline for federal legislation, some features of which have already been suggested by Senator La Follette, is submitted as a proper and adequate limitation of the power of the federal courts to declare laws unconstitutional:

1. When a suit in a federal court involves the question of the constitutionality of a law, either State or federal, the suit should be heard by three judges, not only on the question of whether a preliminary injunction shall be issued during the pendency of the suit as now provided by the Clayton Act, but the same judges should hear the evidence and enter the final decree in the case. Such cases should have priority over all other litigation. The choice of judges to try them should not be left to the Senior Circuit judge, as at present, but should be made by three Circuit judges, or by two Circuit judges and the justice of the Supreme Court assigned to the circuit. Unless the three judges hearing the suit are unanimous in holding the law unconstitutional, its enforcement should not be enjoined.

2. An appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States should be allowed in all such suits. The time for taking the appeal should be limited; and provision should be made for giving such suits priority over all other litigation. If irreparable injury would result from the enforcement of the law during the pendency of the appeal, the three judges hearing the suit should have power to suspend its enforcement until the appeal is decided. Such relief should, however, be so conditioned as to secure to parties all rights

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granted by the law unless it is finally held to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

3. To declare a State law unconstitutional, at least seven of the judges of the Supreme Court hearing the appeal should concur in the decision. To declare a federal law unconstitutional, all the judges should concur in the decision.

In brief, then, the Supreme Court derives its appellate jurisdiction from the Constitution, but "with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." Defining the power to regulate interstate com-

merce, Marshall said it was the power to make rules for the carrying on of that commerce. So here the power to regulate the jurisdiction to declare laws unconstitutional is the power to fix the rule for the exercise of such jurisdiction. From the decision in the Marberry case to the present time the Supreme Court has held that a law ought not to be declared unconstitutional unless its conflict with the Constitution is so plain as to leave no room for doubt. The remedy outlined above simply gives a practical rule for ascertaining when such conflict is in fact free from reasonable doubt.

Fascist Rule in South Tyrol

By ROBERT DELL

(This is the second of a series of three articles on the situation in South Tyrol. The first was South Tyrol—Austria's Lost Province. The concluding article, to appear next week, will describe the terror in South Tyrol.)

Bozen, March 27

THE present regime in South Tyrol dates from the advent of the Fascisti to power in Italy. On the day of the armistice, November 11, 1918, Lieutenant Colonel Pecori-Giraldi, commanding the Italian forces at Trent, issued a proclamation to the German population of South Tyrol in which he undertook on behalf of the Italian Government that their own schools, institutions, and organizations should be preserved. The Italian state, he said, taking its stand on the principles of freedom and justice, would know how to treat its citizens of other nationalities with equity and affection. In German-speaking places German would be an official language as well as Italian and, whereas the Austrian monarchy had oppressed the Italian inhabitants of the province, "Italy, the great and united nation, where complete freedom of thought and speech reigns," would "concede to her fellow-citizens of other nationalities the maintenance of their own schools, their own institutions, and their own organizations." This undertaking was on the whole respected by the successive Italian governments until Duke Mussolini came into power. The German inhabitants of South Tyrol were given the same just and liberal treatment as had long been given to the French-speaking inhabitants of Italian Savoy and they were beginning to be, if not reconciled. at least resigned to their new conditions. A commission of the League of Nations that investigated the treatment of minorities in the various European countries was able to report that they were better treated in Italy than anywhere else, although Italy had signed no minorities treaty. Duke Mussolini and his followers have changed all that. They have flagrantly violated the solemn undertaking given to the South Tyrolese on November 11, 1918, and the system now in force in South Tyrol is a gross breach of faith. It is also manifestation of nationalist stupidity. Whereas, I have said, the Germans in South Tyrol were beginning to be resigned to their fate, they are now bitterly discontented and Italy is likely to have on her northern frontier a permamently hostile population. That can hardly be to her advantage. The adoption of the present policy after the satisfactory experience of the results of a liberal and tolerant policy in Italian Savoy is another example of the inability of most human beings to learn by experience. The treatment of German South Tyrol by the Fascist Government is deplored by all the best Italians, particularly by the old Italian inhabitants of South Tyrol, who are for the most part as indignant at it as their German fellow-citizens.

There seem to be a good many illusions in other countries about the Italian Fascisti, whom many people appear to regard as the saviors of society from bolshevism. In fact about 10 per cent of the Fascists are sincere believers in Fascist doctrines, about 40 per cent are arrivistes who obtain places and emoluments by their adhesion to the party, and the remaining 50 per cent are drawn from the criminal classes. Many of the latter first attached themselves to the Communists in the hope of profiting by possible disorders and then transferred their allegiance to Mussolini because they thought with reason that they would thus have more opportunities of plunder. A landowner in South Tyrol told me that a couple of years ago he caught a gentleman in a black shirt in the act of stealing his wood. When he remonstrated the thief calmly replied that he was a Fascist and, if he were not allowed to take the wood, he would return with fifty of his comrades and burn down the owner's house. The Fascist movement was accompanied by a large amount of ordinary crime without any political excuse and, such was the intimidation exercised by the Fascisti, that it was useless for the victims to seek legal redress. Now that Mussolini is in power he objects to the criminal propensities of a large number of his disciples whose energies are no longer tolerated, with the result that they are extremely discontented.

South Tyrol made its first acquaintance with the Fascist movement on April 24, 1922. On that day a non-political procession in Tyrolese costume took place in Bozen. A band of Fascists fired on the procession without the smallest provocation and killed a school-teacher called Franz Innerhofer. This abominable crime went unpunished and was followed by a series of outrages which, as in the rest of Italy, were tolerated by the Government then in power and by the local Italian authorities. In October, 1922, the Fascisti occupied the principal school in Bozen, drove out the German teachers and their pupils, and established an Italian school in the building. On the same day they occupied the Town Hall and expelled the mayor and the municipal council. After Duke Mussolini became dictator legal oppression was substituted for violence in South Tyrol, but last August the Bozen Trade Union House was seized by the Fascisti who still occupy it.

The Fascist policy in regard to South Tyrol was defined

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by the Fascist Senator, Ettore Tolomei, in a speech in the Bozen Stadttheater on June 15, 1923. His program of thirty-one points was officially declared by the sub-prefect of Bozen to be that of the Government and much of it has now been carried out. The aim of Fascist policy is gradually to eliminate the German language, to suppress the local Tyrolese customs and culture, and forcibly to Italianize the German inhabitants. Senator Tolomei proposed that all German inhabitants should be compelled to take Italian surnames. This measure has not yet been adopted, but Italian names have been given to every town and village in South Tyrol and only the Italian name may be officially used or printed on picture post cards. In some cases the old German name is put up in railway stations as well as the official Italian name of the place, but these cases are in a minority. For example, when one expects to arrive at Innischen, the frontier station on the line from Frankensfeste ("Fortezza") to Vienna, one finds oneself at "San Candido." The names of well-known places such as Bozen and Meran had always Italian equivalents. In Italian Bozen was called Bolzano and Meran Merano, just as London is called Londres in French. But the vast majority of the new Italian names are grotesque fabrications often bearing no relation to the original German name. This attempt to suppress historical place names is an outrage on good taste. At present it is not succeeding. Even the railway officials use the German names in most cases and do not know what one means if one uses the Italian ones. It is now a criminal offense to use the names "Südtirol, Deutschsüdtirol, Tiroler," and the like or any designation for the South Tyrol and its inhabitants other than "Alto Adige" and "Atesino," or their alleged German equivalents, "Hochetsch" and "Etschlander," which are in fact Italian inventions. Names of streets are put up in both languages, but many street names have been changed and Bozen now has a Via Vittore Emmanuele III and a Via Regina Helena.

No language but Italian may be used in the transactions, of local authorities or public bodies, although a German translation may be appended. Letters from a public body to a private person may be in German "provided they do not relate to documents addressed to officials, public offices, or legal bodies, or to the interests of a third person." Parishes in certain districts with less than 2,000 inhabitants may provisionally be exempted from this law until October 1 of this year, but not for longer. Since in the vast majority of South Tyrolese parishes nobody knows any language but German the law will be difficult of application, but it is being made an excuse for importing Italian officials from other parts of Italy. One of Senator Tolomei's proposals was that every parish in South Tyrol should be forced to have an Italian municipal secretary and this measure is being gradually carried out. In the great majority of cases the Italian officials are entirely ignorant of the only language understood by the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants. In places like Bozen and Meran, which have in the summer a large number of Italian visitors, Italian was always spoken to some extent in hotels and shops, but perhaps not more than English. The number of people in Bozen shops able to speak English is surprising. During the last five years many people have learned Italian and probably it is now spoken to some extent by from 25 to 30 per cent of the German population. But in the greater part of German South Tyrol German is the only language understood by the inhabitants. It will be understood how impossible a situation the introduction of Italian officials has created. The obligatory use of Italian for all official and legal documents has thrown the administration into confusion and the archives of the law courts and the public authorities are in a state of chaos.

A knowledge of Italian is now required of all govern. ment officials and employees, including those of the post office and railways. A certain number of the former Aus. trian officials have been retained on condition that they learned Italian and provided they were natives of South Tyrol, but Senator Tolomei demanded that all the native Tyrolese officials should be transferred to other parts of Italy, and the Tyrolese fear that this measure is likely to be adopted. Meanwhile a large number of Italians have been introduced in the railway and postal services. Even the workmen employed on the railways seem to be mostly Italians, and in some cases the railway refreshment rooms have been taken away from their former Tyrolese managers and handed over to Italians. All the notices relating to registered letters, etc., sent by the post office to private individuals are in Italian, so that the majority of the inhabitants cannot understand them. Laws and decrees are published exclusively in Italian without a German translation so that they are incomprehensible to nine-tenths of the population. Moreover, when Italian laws are extended to the new province or Austrian laws repealed, the Government does not take the trouble to publish the fact, so that even jurists do not know what laws are or are not in force. All manifestos, posters, catalogues, time tables, and every kind of printed announcement, addressed to the public even by private individuals, as well as all permanent signs and inscriptions, must be in Italian, but a German translation may be appended "in those parishes in which instruction in the elementary schools is not yet solely Italian." Permanent inscriptions of historical interest or artistic value and those on gravestones or of a religious nature which are already in existence are exempted from this law. In future, however, when a German inhabitant of South Tyrol dies, his relatives must put an Italian inscription on his gravestone. I should think that this law must be unparalleled in any other country.

Night Rider

By ROLFE HUMPHRIES

What starts the trouble neither of us knows
But we are both unhappy when your mood
Turns hard and dumb as stone, puts on a hood
And gown of sullen black, gets up and goes
Horseback through shadows far more dark than those
Where we are lying still. I think you should
Either avoid that hostile gloomy wood
Or take me with you. Are we friends, or foes?

"Oh, I don't know, don't know. Sometimes I fear That our adroit devices miss the mark Because we are so much too subtle. Maybe Some very simple scheme would keep me here As comforted as any little baby Gulping his drink of water in the dark." re-

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A Defense of Cowardice

By LLEWELYN POWYS

I N a certain country in olden times it was the custom to bind a coward between two wattled hurdles and cast him into the mire to be trodden under foot by all brave men. The custom has an especial interest for me because I have been for long convinced that had I lived in those rude days I would have suffered under it. None more surely. From the earliest years of my childhood I have been aware, metaphorically speaking, of the presence of a white feather in my bonnet. In my less shameless days I used to try to pretend that it was otherwise, but always with small profit.

In my life of nearly twoscore years I have been afraid of every mishap that can overtake a man in earth, air, and water. I have been afraid of swimming, afraid of riding, afraid of shooting, afraid of fighting. I have been afraid of being bitten and afraid of being scratched, afraid of being butted and afraid of being pecked. A tetchy peahen defending her seven mottled eggs has before now driven me pell-mell out of a shrubbery, a churlish pig-bucket rat out of a cow house, and a lambing ewe, with but a slight show of ill-nature, out of a straw-littered fold. Indeed, in the case of almost every animal I have a natural preference for the tail view.

When I go to the theater I always observe carefully where the nearest exit is situated. If I hear a shot fired in the street I immediately have an eye for the most accessible ice man's cellar. It would be impossible that it should be otherwise. I was born a coward, a craven, a poltroon, a man with a lily liver, and one like enough to disgrace both his race and his country.

This being as it is I find that my sympathies incline toward creatures of my own kidney. In the outer darkness of Africa I was conscious of feeling a very definite tenderness toward hyenas, toward these slouching neurotic hermaphrodites who because of their highly developed sense of self-preservation have become a general laughingstock. Let the shaggy-maned lions go stalking never so boldly across the open plains, causing the whole veldt to resound with their noisy roarings, I would still find my softer feelings reserved for these queer, square-jowled henchmen of theirs, whom I knew to be shifting from shadow to shadow, in agonized apprehension lest through some unforeseen accident their own striped hides might come by a bump or pinch. And with birds my sentiment was the same. How much preferable to me was the egret to the eagle, the heron to the hawk!

The fact is this business of physical courage is much overrated. There is little or nothing in it—a mere survival from primitive times, when it was necessary for the herd "to jolly" one of their number into an imprudent action. To set any high value on courage is the most utter barbarism. Such an attitude has no relevance to the present day. It is out of date, obsolete, and had best be relegated to a dubious past when the shedding of blood was still regarded as the best way of ending disputes. Let us examine the matter more closely. These brave men, these "regular fellows," who do not know fear—how insupportable they are as companions! Without wit or whimsy they go marching through life oblivious of all delicate values. They do not even understand the art of conversation. Nobody save

General Pershing could tolerate them for a moment. But on a bitter winter night when all is cold and desolate outside, when the ice floes bear and boom and crack, let me have a good honest coward at my side in the inner parlor where all is safe. How naturally understanding he is, how sophisticated! One can say anything to him and anything is forgiven. There is no moral strain. One knows that nothing is expected of one, save to show a clean pair of heels in the case of danger.

I like to witness little scenes of cowardice. I like to see people betray the amiability of their natures and their love of life by climbing trees, hesitating behind doors, or in any other way hurrying to cover from the jolts and jars of the world. Personally I would not give a dry rush for these brave bastards. It is on account of such loggerheads that wars continue. If cowards were no longer a distinguished minority, then we would, indeed, have a League of Nations! This infantile tendency of the human race to applaud courage has been responsible for the worst pages in our history. There are many other virtues of far more value than this tinkling theatrical one. In any community

worthy of being called civilized fine manners would surely

be esteemed more. Badgers are brave, but good luck to them!

What do they know of irony and supersubtle innuendoes?

How fortunate, how happy would that planet be upon which no brave man had ever been born! Indeed, I should like to rid the earth of all brave men, to organize a great rebellion of cowards so that on some dark St. Bartholomew's night we might suddenly by treachery, by hitting below the belt, and stabbing in the back, rid the round world of all these vigorous mischief-makers. It would go hard, but in this way we would indeed make the world safe for cowards. The mere suggestion of any derring-do in our children would then be regarded with the most serious misgiving. By such lapses was not Europe all but brought to perdition? Indeed, in so sensitive, so highly refined a Utopia whose chief recreations would be love-making, drinking wine, and fortunate companionship any kind of intrepidity could only have a pernicious influence. In such a state a valiant man would be anathema, an accursed one, a cow with a crooked horn. Honor would only be done to these others, to these gentle beings whose propitiatory manner would keep the commonwealth out of all trouble.

Well do I recollect during the fateful August of 1914 feeling, as I read the paper on a sunny English terrace, nothing but amazement that the German rank and file should sacrifice their lives at the rate they did before Liège. The correspondent described them as "squealing like hares" as they were mown down by the Belgian guns. It seemed to me then, as the peacock butterflies flitted from the phloxes to the hot gravel and as the yellow-abdomened wasps drunken with the juice of golden pippins struggled from one cave of sweetness to another in the down-trodden grass on the other side of the orchard-railing, that such behavior represented the utmost folly, the utmost immorality. Had they nothing better to do with their lives than to become food for cannon? "Mortal men, mortal men!" They would have been spending their time better surely in the paddocks of their homes picking up Taunton Blacks.

And yet, God knows, I suppose that most of them were unwilling enough for the sake of glory to have their intestines riddled with bullets. It was the men behind the lines who had contrived to get them into the scrape. And those boys who went "over the top" so exultantly—where are they now? Who thinks of them? Who remembers them?

British imperialists, French chauvinists, American patriots—these are the people whose presence in the world forms the real obstruction against any civilized progress. If British jerry-sneaks, French dung-hill cocks, American yellow-streaks got together, then there might be some hope. For let these devilish brave men understand once and for all that it is only possible for cowards to be heroic.

In the Driftway

In these days when new magazines and newspapers—or combinations of newspapers—are bursting forth on every twig, the Drifter feels that his own favorite sheet has been a bit neglected. He has heard Mr. Munsey say that the day of the small family newspaper is past; that publishing has become a great industry in which only men with millions of dollars and acres of land and thousands of employees can hope to compete, and he has noted that the next edition of his favorite paper is to be 130 copies and its staff is composed of eight energetic young men who are editors, reporters, feature writers, copy-men, press boys, typesetters, and distributors all at once. Not to keep his readers in suspense any longer, the paper in question is the Watchung News, and it is produced by juvenile talent only at Bound Brook, New Jersey.

THE first items in this week's issue are, properly enough, entitled "News About People." Under this caption various bits of interesting information are assembled, perhaps the most beguiling being the following subtle note: "Joan Mason had a birthday party Wednesday afternoon. She was 2 years old and had 3 guests. It was a dandy little party." What Senator could more delicately patronize his Congressman; what captain of industry could express more kindly and yet more crushingly the scorn of the aged, established, and successful for the young and green? Under "Dog News" the items are a little mixed: "Borow's New Dog's name is Timmy and he is full of mischief and fun. . . . A flicker has a nest in the top of the telephone pole by Dr. Robinson's." The young editor evidently wished to introduce a new note in natural history, but with becoming modesty refrained from calling attention to his theory, which a more mature naturalist would undoubtedly have sought to publish dully under some such title as "A Study of the Similarity of Mammalia and Aves, with special stress on the Dog and the Flicker, compiled with Notes and Tables." The item under "School News" is brief and to the point: "We are very sorry that school begins on Monday." But what reticence and deep suffering those few words hold; and how many lurid pages would have been devoted to their like in an ordinary daily!

POLITICS are treated in the manner they deserve. Under the head Who Is President? the following dialogue appears: "'Who is that man, Mother?' asked one of our small sisters. "That is Mr. Cooley, Herbert Cooley's Fa-

ther.' 'Oh, Is he the President then?'" This irresistible bit is not labeled "Joke" as the real jokes are; the young editors mean it to be taken seriously as it should be. But do they write an editorial on the astonishing ignorance of the electorate or the failure of the voter to appreciate the blessings of government by even so much as remembering the name of the chief executive? They do not. They leave such superfluities to older though not better men. They understand that what is left unsaid is more important than what is said. They grasp the fundamentals of life and treat them briefly, succinctly, and as kindly as possible, They present to their readers news of the day arranged in orderly columns and unaccompanied by advertising, pictures, documents, or pseudo-scientific rules for living. They are, in short, publishing the only newspaper the Drifter has ever seen. It is a tribute to their courage, but what a sad commentary on the great public that only 130 persons are sufficiently astute rightly to value them.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence Haiti Today

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A cruise to the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea gave me an opportunity to stop at Haiti. Although my stay was a brief one I was fortified with letters of introduction and was able to get much information as to what is going on in that most unhappy country. The Haitian Government practically does not exist; to all intents and purposes government in Haiti consists of Commissioner Russell, by whose will the country is ruled. Martial law prevails; the marines are everywhere, and their heavy drinking and brutality are much complained of. A marine recently killed an unoffending Haitian in an effort to take the latter's mule from him. It is easy to see that Americans are hated. As the tender from the steamer brought us to the shore everyone was struck by the sullen, hostile expression of the black faces staring at us from the wharf. The difference was marked between this reception and the friendliness of the natives of Jamaica. The latter, though very poor, seemed cheerful, alert, and contented under British rule, as the color line is not drawn sharply there. Race discrimination and a more crass and brutal exploitation exist under our auspices than under the Union Jack.

The expenses of our occupation are bleeding the Haitians to death. As I and my Haitian companions motored through Port au Prince we passed handsome villas, closed and deserted, their owners reduced to such financial straits that they can no longer afford to keep their homes open. "Persons who in America are nothing and nobody become great personages in Haiti; they live in luxury at our expense and lord it over us," said my cicerone with much feeling. American officers and their wives were passing briskly in fine motors while along every mountain road under the furious tropical sun came trudging troops of women and girls bearing great burdens on their heads and leading tiny donkeys with frail legs like match sticks and sharp thin little bodies laden with huge pack saddles and panniers. The contrast between the prosperous air of the occupationists and the misery of the inhabitants is painful. I saw some of the most "raggedy" men I have ever beheld in the varied course of my travels, whose clothing was a mere network of shreds revealing large expanses of bare, black skin. The mass of the people is of a primitive Negro type. The educated class is very highly educated, with a French culture which they do not want to have superseded by American culture, no matter how determined Americans may be to impose it on them. "While Haiti is a Negro civilization it has nevertheless a civilization

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of its own, Negro and French, which we should be permitted to develop in our way, not subject to outside interference."

This is the frank way they put it.

But the Americans have made little attempt to bring the Haitians culture of any kind. The occupation is for purposes of exploitation, not for education. Not much of the money wrung from Haiti is spent on her people or for her benefit. There are no public libraries, but through private native enterprise at Port au Prince funds are being collected bit by bit and a small building is going up. We visited the convent and the nuns' school for girls and the seminary where the boys are educated and noted the cleanliness, especially of the former, and then went to the schools maintained by the Government (American Occupation) and saw the frowziness and general dilapidation.

The Haitians say that Americans are accustomed to claim all public enterprises as having been put through by them, including those that the Haitians themselves built long before the forces of the United States arrived. The marine who showed us over the prison, which is a combined jail, insane asylum, and poorhouse, told us that this had been erected by the Americans. I consider myself somewhat of an authority on prisons, as I served two prison sentences for picketing the White House during the suffrage agitation, and while the prison at Port au Prince, as far as could be judged by a hasty inspection, seemed to be in good condition, I was disgusted to see a marine on guard in the midst of the women's quarters, and to hear that there is no matron in charge, only a nurse. It is dangerous to put men in authority over women prisoners -especially young American soldiers so far away from home influences over colored women. My visit to the prison was prompted by a desire to interview M. Jolibois, the Haitian editor of the Courrier Haitien, and one of six journalists kept in jail for no other offense than having ventured to criticize the marines, the occupation, and the (Russell) Government. These journalists have been in detention for four months awaiting trial. When I inquired of the marine who was showing us over the prison why the accused were not brought to trial he said that was the fault of the Haitian law. When I asked how that could be, since Haiti was under martial law, he replied: "Martial law has been suspended." "He lies," was the sotto voce comment of the accompanying Haitian.

These journalists are held incomunicado; I could not see them even for a moment. They are kept in an inner court and are put out of their cells every morning at six o'clock, to be left all day in the broiling sun without hats or any kind of shelter. Two of them have already been made ill by it. Food from their homes is sent them, but before they are permitted to eat it it is examined to ascertain if letters or communications are concealed in it, and this examination is made by the guards running their fingers through it.

I left Haiti with a profound feeling of grief and mortification that such things should be done in the name of liberty and

Haverford, Pennsylvania, March 5 MARY WINSOR

The Complete History of America

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The following is, as nearly as I can remember it, an extemporaneous speech given on the subject of immigration in a county contest of high schools at Kiowa, Kansas, by a freshman lad in short pants. Read it and consider yourself squelched. I only wish I had it verbatim:

Immigration began when Columbus discovered America. No efforts were made to stop immigration in the United States until about 1890. Then Grover Cleveland, who was President for two terms, seen that something must be done to stop immigration if this country was to

keep from falling. So he passed a law stopping immigration, but did not enforce it very much.

At present there are two sides in America. There are the Protestants, who are white and believe that the white people ought to rule America. Then there is the Roman church, which is mostly foreigners, who belong to the darker races, chiefly the brown race.

Fighting for the white race and against the foreigners we have the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. They want to prevent the Roman church from getting the upper hand. They see that something must be done about immigration to keep the U. S. from falling. Fighting against the Klan we have the Knights of Columbus, who are trying to get the Roman church and the foreigners to rule this country.

Hardtner, Kansas, April 21

ARTHUR WEDEL

Secretary Work at Taos

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Did Dr. Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, come to the Taos pueblo last Good Friday as "an apostle of health to the trachoma- or tuberculosis-stricken Indians"?

Or did he come to take a crack at those American artists in Taos who signed en masse the protest against the first Bursum bill?

At all events the Taos Indians had worked hard all day to make their roads passable for the advent of Secretary Work, Indian Commissioner Burke, and other notables representing the Great White Father. The old men of the council were gathered together to do honor to their visitors, to hear the white man's wisdom and present their own. Then up rose Secretary Work, and through his interpreter advised the council of old men not to let the Indians on any account have anything to do with artists. This was not for the reason that artists might infect them with trachoma. No. The artists were to be kept away from the pueblo, and not visited in their studios, because the artists desired the Indians to be halfanimals, and to be kept half-animals, so that the artists might make thousands of dollars yearly out of them by painting their pictures. The artists would advise them not to be white men, not to wear citizens' clothes, not to cut their hair, for thus the artists could keep them in subjection and grow rich upon them as their self-styled friends.

When the spokesman of the Indians, Señor Juan José Archuleta, rose to respond to the Secretary's speech, and to present the views of his people, he was commanded to sit down, as the commissioner and his party had heard enough and were on their way.

A signed statement of these facts was then made by Señor Archuleta and Señor Juan Mirabal, Lieutenant-Governor of the Pueblo, and corroborated by two white men who had heard the Secretary's words in English.

Now it may be that the Taos colony of artists occasionally sell their pictures, and it undoubtedly is true that they admire the Indian most when he dresses as an Indian, wears his hair as an Indian, and otherwise preserves the ancient customs of his race. They do not want to see his dances abolished, nor his hair cut by a barber, nor himself garbed in blue denim overalls working in the road gang. They prefer to pay, and they do pay, the Indians who pose as models a return which attracts the Indian away from overalls and the road gang; or the attraction may be partly that the artists like the Indians as human beings and the Indians also find the artists human. In any case I submit to the eminent Secretary two suggestions: that jumping on the artists does not get one very far with trachoma or tuberculosis; and that the Indians themselves would like a chance to make a speech to the Secretary of the Interior.

Taos, New Mexico, April 22

WALTER UFER

Not a Peace Plan But a Peace Policy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Hegel was right when he said that the only lesson of history is that men learn nothing from history. If he were living today he might add that consistent thinking about human relations ceased in August, 1914. Upon any other theory it would be difficult to account for the fact that among the numerous proposals that have recently been made to keep the world from slipping over the brink so little attention has been given to the propagation of a principle that all enlightened political reformers from Adam Smith down to the World War have vigorously proclaimed as an indispensable condition to international peace—free trade. This is all the more remarkable since the liberals, who haltingly yielded to the clamor for war, justified their action on the ground that the principle of freedom was in danger of being overthrown.

Why, then, has a liberal program not been adopted by a single great state except England—and that only recently, under Ramsay MacDonald? To ascribe the failure solely or even primarily to great economic interests is simplifying the problem beyond recognition and diverting our effort from the only sphere of action in which a solution is possible; for in no popular government is peace determined by the privileged few:

its last affinity must be in the will of the majority.

That the real terms of the problem are not generally understood is evident from the writings and public utterances of the great majority of the advocates of the League of Nations. They seldom fail to miss the point; they assume that our preponderant weight, added to those states which are now members of the League, would force a recalcitrant minority to submit to the arbitrament of courts and the rule of law quite regardless of the fact that the Treaty of Versailles, of which the Covenant is a part, is the law of Europe and that that law runs counter to the economic currents and interests that flow between states. The fundamental error in such a position lies in the assumption that obedience to law is peace.

But how is peace to be established and maintained? There is but one way: There must be, on the part of the public and those who have direct control of foreign policies, an agreement upon guiding principles in the conduct of both domestic and foreign affairs. We must remember that national interests are controlled—so far as control is possible—through a domestic policy, and international interests through a foreign policy. Of course, at many points the two merge. Thus the tariff law of one state affects every foreign state in the matter of trade. Likewise laws relating to immigration or national defense, coming solely within the jurisdiction of domestic policy, are, from their very nature, of vital concern to foreign states. Our immigration laws regarding the admission of Japanese are an

outstanding illustration.

Foreign problems under normal conditions usually arise and are disposed of one at a time, and, as they usually affect only particular interests, the general public is not aroused to the seriousness of the situation. It is so easy to appeal to patriotism, national interest, or national honor, or to make it appear that the foreign state against which an offensive policy is directed is the aggressor that the public seldom sees the real issue. Newspapers take the issue up where the diplomat lays it down, and it is soon made to appear that there is a conflict of interests whereas it is really a conflict between two theories of control. To state the idea more directly, war is a conflict between domestic and foreign policy, in other words, between national and international conceptions; and the reconciliation of these two ideas constitutes the whole problem of peace.

But the reconciliation of ideas or policies is not a question of mechanism or alliances at all. It is simply the application of the Golden Rule to international affairs. And if such a conception seems too idealistic for the practical statesman, it may

be pointed out that Ramsay MacDonald is actually putting it into practice today in England with the result that in the brief period of his premiership he has already accomplished more for world peace than all the chancelleries of Europe and America combined have accomplished since the signing of the armistice. Not till nations come to realize that even within their own jurisdictions certain powers, though legally recognized, should not be exercised to the injury of a foreign state, will any a. vance be made toward a better world. The man who puts up a spite fence on his own lot to interfere with the view of his neighbor because the law permits it may be doing more to provoke a quarrel than the man who commits an act of trespass which is forbidden by law. A protective tariff which shuts out goods manufactured in foreign countries and thus prevents thousands of foreign working men from pursuing an occupation adapted to their ability and environment may do infinitely more to injure a foreign state than is done by a violation of its neutrality.

One of the chief difficulties in achieving and preserving the peace of the world lies in the fact that war is the cumulative result of a series of events scattered over a period of years before the outbreak of hostilities, and of unfriendly foreign policies adopted long before the currents of hate consume men's reason because of some overt act like the sinking of the Maine or the murder of an archduke. Some means must therefore be devised by which nations shall come to realize that conducting a foreign policy wisely and patriotically is not driving a sharp bargain with another state but winning its everlasting friendship. Not in a "plan" to prevent war, devised when its wrath is upon us, nor in a mechanism designed to compel obedience to law in the future can an enduring peace be established, but in a policy looking toward the removal of all restraints upon trade and commerce between states, and in the creation of a free spirit out of which law and justice shall flow.

Oberlin, Ohio, May \$

KARL F. GEISER

The Kidnapping of Bergdoll

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I read in your issue of February 27 an editorial paragraph calling the attempt to "kidnap" Bergdoll "a peculiarly outrageous bit of lawlessness" and calling it also "the invasion of a friendly country to kidnap Bergdoll." Your paragraph then goes on to say:

One has only to consider what the uproar would have been had the conditions been reversed—had Germans sought to free one of their compatriots interned in this country—to realize the enormity of this crime.

I must admit I am speechless before this absurd attempt to draw anything like a parallel. Bergdoll is not interned in Germany; he fled from America and is, therefore, a fugitive from justice, not an internee. What is more, to draw anything like an analogy between the Americans going to the little town on the Rhine where Bergdoll lives and attempting to kidnap him and Germans in America attempting to free one of their interned compatriots during the war is out of the question, and belongs in a journal of hysterical rather than sober, liberal thought. There is no similarity between the case cited and the case of what you call reversed conditions. You cannot help Germany by defending the malodorous escape of Bergdoll. His case is one that disgusts all Americans, and I am fairly certain that his being hailed as a hero by the people of the town where he resides is rather because these poor people need his money, which he is said to distribute very liberally, than because they think him worthy of esteem.

I am sorry to find things like this in *The Nation* just because I admire *The Nation* so much. I enjoy reading it, but I do not enjoy such flights of illogic as the paragraph above.

Paris, March 23

A. WALTER KRAMER

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Taxing the Rich

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I want to bring to your attention a matter which I think might be referred to Senator Couzens's committee. About two years ago in conversation with a leading Boston lawyer known for his activities as a lobbyist in Washington I was informed that he had just "put over" the Treasury Department a tax remission to the amount of about \$800,000 in behalf of a large corporation here which he did not name. The plea which was made by him and accepted by the Department was that although the concern had made profits involving such taxes for a year recently passed they had not yet paid them, and now business was so bad that if the Government demanded settlement they would be obliged to close down and thus throw out of employment a large number of hands. I suggested that he meant to tell me that the payment had been deferred, but he assured me with great pride that he had had it remitted entirely. I expressed surprise that the Department should remit taxes on any plea, especially this one, and he assured me that it was authorized to do so under the law and that it was ordinary practice.

He indicated that he had a similar service performed for many other clients and that there was a regular channel of influential lobbyists in Washington who carried these things through. He said: "If you know where to go and how to work it and if your claim is big enough you can get away with it."

I suggested that I was hard up and asked him to plead to the Treasury Department that I would throw my servants out of employment and stop work myself unless the Government remitted my \$800 income tax. He thought I was talking like a fool.

Newton, Massachusetts, May 1

PRESCOTT WARREN

Contributors to This Issue

GEORGE GLASGOW is a British journalist, formerly on the editorial staff of the New Europe. At present he writes the section on foreign affairs for the Contemporary Review (London), and acts as correspondent of the London Observer, the Manchester Guardian, and is a regular contributor to L'Europe Nouvelle, Prager Presse, and the Neue Freie Presse of Vienna.

BEULAH AMIDON RATLIFF is a daughter of United States Judge Charles F. Amidon and, through association with him, has developed a lively interest in the reform of the courts. She contributed the article on Mississippi to The Nation's State series.

LLEWELYN Powys is the author of "Ebony and Ivory" and other volumes of essays and stories.

BORIS STERN has recently returned after a year's study of the German labor movement.

HELEN BUCKLER, who has been a member of the staff of The Nation, has just left for Europe to attend conferences growing out of the recent Washington congress of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom.

DAVID LILIENTHAL is a Chicago attorney who has specialized in law relating to labor disputes.

MARY BEARD has recently returned from her second long visit in Asia, where she became much interested in the international relations and domestic politics of the countries of the Far East.



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BRENTANO'S

BOOKSELLERS TO THE WORLD

FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

Bishop Brown's Bad Book

Bishop William Montgomery Brown has been officially summoned to appear before a Court of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Cleveland, Ohio, on May 27, 1924, to be tried for the twenty-three outrageous heresies embodied in his book entitled

Communism and Christianism

In reply to his summons Bishop Brown says in part: "My heresy does not consist in rejecting the theology of the Christian interpretation of redemptive religion but in emptying it of its traditional supernaturalism and filling it with scientific naturalism. In this way I still hold to the Gods of the Old and New Testaments, but I empty them of their Mosaism and Paulinism and refill them with Darwinism and Marxism."

A copy of "Communism and Christianism," 224 pages, now in its 150th thousand, together with a copy of "Heresy," a magazine about the trial, revealing the bankruptcy of Orthodoxy, will be mailed for 25 cents.

Bradford-Brown Educational Company, Inc., Publishers, Galion, Ohio.

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Books

Idealism and Despair

Waste. By Robert Herrick. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

OF all the critics of American life, none is less hopeful than Mr. Herrick. Though Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, and their innumerable followers may indulge a more reckless scorn, the very exuberance of their condemnation reveals plainly enough a confidence that they are fighting on the winning side, whereas Mr. Herrick lacks all their buoyance and seems chilled to the bone. Others, perhaps, have kept up their spirits with exultant mockery or with dreams of a more comely society, but he has stuck quite simply to the task which he set himself long ago and has continued, coldly, seriously, and without enthusiasm, to analyze the conditions of success in the business and professional world. Last year, it is true, "Homely Lilla" seemed in some ways to mark a new departure, but in "Waste" he returns to the pattern of his most important previous work, to the story, that is, of a young man who begins with a determination to achieve something great or at least honorable in life but who is gradually either absorbed into the vast money-making machine or is destroyed by it. This new novel reveals him as, if possible, more hopeless than he was when he told the same story before, as an idealist who believes that American prosperity has rotted American character to the core and who sees any possible remedy far away.

Mr. Herrick's standards, austere and simple, apply to less subtle and intangible things than do those of many of his fellow-critics. Others have charged against our civilization a lack of grace, imagination, and beauty; they have bewailed and belabored the absence of urbanity, artistic productivity, and intellectual interests; but Mr. Herrick is too much occupied with more fundamental things to find time to concern himself, except incidentally, with the graces. He would, one imagines, be content to assume that mere provinciality would in a healthy community work its own cure, but he usually brings his hero face to face with fundamental meanness and simple dishonesty. While others have discussed our culture he has, quite wisely perhaps, confined himself largely to our business because that, though less colorful, is with us more fundamental, and because he is evidently convinced that it is useless to criticize the flower of our civilization unless we understand its roots. He sees us after a century and a half of national existence still crude, materialistic, and ugly not because we have neglected art and culture, but because we have complacently accepted greed as the sole motive for, and chicanery as the method of, the industry and business upon which our civilization is founded.

The Memoirs of an American Citizen might stand as the generic title of his most important books, for he has shown a whole series of young men starting at the bottom (as a good American is supposed to do) but speedily discovering that the arts by which one rises are not industry, honesty, or skill but trickery and corruption. Architects, engineers, and lawyers lose out, while the prizes go to those who are willing to "play the game" by pulling social and political wires, by engaging in questionable financial operations, by plundering national resources, or, at least, by leaguing themselves with those who do. As long, he seems to say, as financial reward is the only accepted standard of achievement and as long as this reward goes not to those who serve or create but to those who manipulate, it is useless to complain that our civilization lacks grace. The cynical phrase "business is business" excuses all things, and there is no hope for a nation in which the escutcheons of the only aristocracy which it recognizes bear that motto. Of the statesman, the soldier, the doctor, the priest, and the artist it has always been at least expected that he should work for something besides personal profit. But America has accepted

Business, the one profession which has always been assumed to be completely materialistic and selfish, as the only important calling.

Mr. Herrick's chill despair has blighted to some extent his work. There is no more intelligent student of national life than he, and no one who has described from a fuller knowledge or in a more concrete manner typical examples of the working of our system. But grace of style he certainly has not, and his stories move with a heavy tread because they are told by a man who, in the bitterness of his disillusion, has lost all enthusiasm and is sustained only by an intellectual love of integrity and a cold hatred of its opposite. In the present book, the story of an engineer who fails because he is more interested in engineering than in water-power grabbing, the only flashes of real passion occur when Mr. Herrick's fierce misogyny comes into play. Woman, subtly and remorselessly asserting her claim upon man by "giving herself into his keeping" and then refusing to recognize any success except tangible wealth and power. he sees as the channel through which the great Goddess of Getting On asserts her power over even those few who might otherwise have escaped her. In this book, as in others, when he describes a woman's tightening grip he fairly burns, but in most of the other incidents the book moves one only as a relentlessly thorough and concrete analysis can move. "Waste" is not particularly easy to read and yet it deserves to be read, for nowhere else can be found a more thorough study of a problem J. W. KRUTCH which must be solved.

The American Judiciary

The American Judge. By Andrew A. Bruce. The Macmillan Company. \$2.

THE proper function of the judge in our experiment in government is today a matter of controversy. Events of recent months bring this out strikingly: the storm of protest over the Supreme Court's "veto" of the child-labor and minimum-wage laws; the great popular condemnation of the Wilkerson injunction against the striking shopmen; the public indignation over the use of contempt-of-court powers in the Craig and Michaelson cases.

Although the need for popular discussion of this problem of the judges is obvious, little has been written for the layman on one of our most important and our least comprehended fundamental questions of political practice. If for no other reason than the surprising scarcity of such material, this book by a former chief justice of the North Dakota Supreme Court is an important one.

Judge Bruce's book treats of two distinct phases of this field of inquiry. The first is that of essentially practical problems: the unreasonable cost of litigation, the confusion and obscurity in the decisional law, the excessive burdens borne by the appellate courts, the archaic state of criminal procedure, the dilemma of a judge depending on political support yet unable conscientiously to seek aid from potential litigants. When Judge Bruce writes of such matters he is clear and he is convincing. His presentation is, it is true, popular and oversimplified; nevertheless, it is admirably adapted to the lay audience to which it is directed.

The second part of the discussion is a consideration of more fundamental problems, such as the desirability of our judicial control over legislation; the regulation, through the equity courts, of industrial relations; an appointive compared with an elective judiciary; the courts' interpretation of the right of free speech and free press, and the like. But here, unfortunately, the author's preconceptions and training render impossible the impersonal, scientific analysis the subject requires. For instance, his discussion of government by injunction in labor disputes, or of the judicial "veto" of social legislation, proceeds from premises of right and wrong. His con-

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clusion that the courts, and rarely the legislatures, are the bulwark of a democratic commonwealth is predicated upon relevant oratory and the most amazing errors of fact. The issue, of course, is not one of abstract right or wrong, and the reasoning must be closely woven, resting upon empirical data, and not upon a denunciation of "self-styled friends of the people," labor leaders (e.g., p. 131), "sociologists and politicalscience teachers" who are, to quote some of Judge Bruce's typically temperate and judicial language, "insanely bolshevistic"!

The author's conclusions accurately mirror his social ideals. To him, a society is at its zenith when it is, above all, stable. He is first of all a defender of things as they are, a high priest in the court of Koshchei. There must be, to this type of mind, respect" for the law and "reverence" for the judges, regardless of the respectability of either. (Only a few months ago the late unlamented Mr. Daugherty, then chief officer of the law, was singing encomiums on the "reverence" due the law and all its administrators.) There is, argued Judge Bruce, an "only too prevalent tendency . . . to condemn the actions of all who are in authority." With such preconceptions and such reasoning his conclusions on the problem of the courts are of little value in a field which calls for a scientific mind and a judicious temperament. DAVID E. LILIENTHAL

W. H. Hudson in the Flesh

W. H. Hudson. A Portrait. By Morley Roberts. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$5.

BOUT Hudson the writer there has begun to be-at least A among those who know his books—very little doubt. Of his fiction, "The Purple Land" and "El Ombù" will probably survive "Green Mansions," in spite of popular preferences just now. 'Far Away and Long Ago" will continue to seem one of the most beautiful of British autobiographies. "The Naturalist in La Plata," "Idle Days in Patagonia," "Nature in Downland," "Hampshire Days," "A Shepherd's Life," and "A Hind in Richmond Park" will long be classics in that form which Gilbert White invented but which Hudson developed in the direction of his own more pungent genius. As collections of essays these last volumes mean much to English prose; as pictures of South America and England, and as records of that endlessly exciting world of fact which men call Nature, they are more precious than can at present be told. Simple as they are, and closely as they adhere to the plain truth as Hudson met it on his solitary walks, they come nearer to some kind of supernature than anything in "Green Mansions," which set out to be a romance of another world. As a writer Hudson performed that rare enough feat of reading his own temperament into nature and thereby rendering it both more important and more true.

It is rarely if ever profitable to make distinctions between a man and his books. In the case of Hudson it is particularly futile to do so, for it always has been obvious that the reticent, austere naturalist lived most fully in his books-perhaps lived only there. Readers with a modicum of imagination have been aware from the first that Hudson was in no ordinary sense a happy man; that he attained such genial moments as he had among wild, natural forces-men and women of villages, balls of thistledown on wide plains, birds in forests or over lonely fields. He was restless and ill-tempered in cities; he meant exactly what he said when he identified himself in "Hampshire Days" with the prehistoric men whom he imagined to be sitting on their mounds at twilight and looking with "their dark, pale, furious faces" toward the little modern races which had supplanted them. So there was no news of magnitude to be expected from a book written about Hudson by a man who had known him intimately for forty years.

Mr. Roberts has little indeed to tell. Not only was Hudson uncommunicative about his past; in the present "there was

something in his character which forbade him to abandon his soul to others." For some reason he could not be got at-except in his books, and the world has those. Mr. Roberts is utterly unable to say anything concerning the first forty years which cannot be found in "Far Away and Long Ago" and "Idle Days in Patagonia." He met Hudson in London in 1880; Hudson was already married; he was poor, and continued poor; he wrote books from 1885 until his death, in 1921; there is nothing more of really major importance. Certain details, to be sure, are not unwelcome. Hudson was twenty-nine when he came to England, and it was always England chiefly that he loved. His wife was fifteen years his senior; was fat and did not understand his work; yet for a long while took in boarders or gave music-lessons to support him while he wrote articles that did not sell. He was six foot three; had large features and large extremities; had a sense of humor but was often savage; lacked manners; loved singing, and when his wife lost her voice made Mr. Roberts take her place; suffered from boyhood with a weak heart; was insatiably curious; resented the passage of the years so fiercely that he never told his age and apparently never gave a thought to time that had been put away; exacted much from his friends; was most comfortable in the small houses of poor and interesting people; wrote thousands of letters, but before his death called most of them in and destroyed them because he wanted no biography of himself. Many of these things, however, might have been true of other men. None of them "explains" the quality of vision or the power of pen which made Hudson the writer that he was. Unfortunately, those cannot be explained.

MARK VAN DOREN

Chickens That Hatched

My Crystal Ball. By Elisabeth Marbury. Boni and Liveright. \$3.

FTER the perfumed draughts of Mayfair autobiographies, A and the almost Pasadena sweetness and light of most American ladies with pen in hand, it is salt wind in mid-ocean to have a female open a book about herself with "Three of the earliest episodes in my life are distinctly associated with cowardice, gluttony, and mendacity." Elisabeth Marbury in "My Crystal Ball" does not thereafter proceed to give a Pepysian account of high crime and brazen adventure, but she does unfold a record of sixty-seven years' energetic participation in the business, social, and artistic life of Europe and America, in which there is no anemic paragraph. We meet her at the age of six stealing bananas from her father's store-room and getting stomach-ache. She hands us at the age of sixty-seven a polemic against prohibition and a bouquet of philosophical saws, catholic counterpart to the advisings of that worldly Quaker, Benjamin Franklin. And as she hurries off to consult with Eugene O'Neill about his latest play and catch the train for Washington to help wangle the Democratic National Convention for New York she seems to have twenty years ahead of her as racy, as varied, and as energetic as her past.

The most interesting character in her book is Elisabeth Marbury herself. She wastes very little time in talk. Certainly no time at all in the feminist plaint that a man's world is difficult to do business in. The way to be free is to be free. When she wanted things, she went after them. I suspect that often Miss Marbury has sat tight and waited for the other fellow in a deal to come across, but I do not believe she has languished a minute in the role of the quiescent lady waiting for the world

to bring her flowers.

At twenty-five she was reading "Sesame and Lilies" beside the incubator she kept in the small hall bedroom of the family dwelling in Irving Place. She counted her chickens, but they hatched. She took prizes at poultry shows. She made a little money. She began meeting people, meeting everybody: Lily Langtry and Gambetta, Oscar Wilde and Frances Hodgson Burnett, Clyde Fitch and Marie Corelli, Charles Murphy and Mrs. Humphry Ward—everybody from P. T. Barnum to George Eliot. She became a play-broker, a business woman of the theaters, a promoter and patron and producer. She crowds her canvas so as she writes of her career that she makes a sort of hoi-polloi of the elect she describes, but her colors are bright. Her story is a revelation of a woman who wanted power rather than love, and went after it.

ERNESTINE EVANS

The Casualness of Things

The Black Dog and Other Stories. By A. E. Coppard. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

A. E. COPPARD has made an idiom for himself out of the homely and the familiar. His Simple Simon sees "a fine young girl... smiling at him; the plait of her hair was as thick as a rope of onions and as shining with the glint in it." He has the secret of giving us companionable human beings: his are the sort of people who can sit long hours in a country pub and who are made meditative by the sight of "a wren cockering itself in a bush." And when he is at his best he can write like this:

Elsewhere in this emptiness even a bush will have its name, and an old stone becomes a track mark. Upon the soft tufts and among the triumphant furze live a few despised birds, chats and finches and that blithe screamer the lark, but above all, like veins upon the down's broad breast, you can perceive the run-way of a hare.

Mr. Coppard leaves the Saxon scene now and again; when he does he shows himself clever and ingenious, but he shows, too, that the exotic is not for him. When he writes about Kilsheelan, or about the country that the beautiful Flaune lived in we know that he is just romancing. The second of these two scenes is particularly empty; it is in a Lord Dunsany sort of country where there are "birds of a rare kind; the flamewinged antillomeneus and kriffs with green eyes." The story of the man from Kilsheelan is in a near-Irish idiom and very cleverly indeed does Coppard handle his post-Synge speech:

"Listen, you," said Christine. "There's two upstart men in the house now, seeking you and the other. There's trouble and damage on the head of it. From the asylum they are. To the police they have been to put an embargo on the reward, and sorra a sixpence you'll receive of the fifty pounds of it: to the expenses of the asylum it must go, they say."

Perhaps it is because the writer has to concern himself overmuch with an idiom that is not native to him that the interest of this particular narrative is somewhat dissipated.

A. E. Coppard has realized what literary value there is in the casual. It is true that in one of his stories a tiger devours a man, and in another we have an ending that shows a poor man dreaming that he has been liberated from prison for a day and is able to attend his son's funeral. But casualness is the real note of his stories. The Hon. Gerald Loughlin makes up his mind to miss the train that is already a little late and becomes involved in the happenings that center round "The Black Dog." At the end of the story "he has not forgotten, but he cannot endure the thought of that countrysideto be far from the madding crowd is to be mad indeed." In the second story, poor Bollington "walked out of the hotel just as I was and left her there," and so left a wife who was under the impression that she was leaving him. Then there is young Simpkins, who goes to collect a debt owed to his father and who is left with a lovely ballet girl in his arms. In the last, the story about Finkle, who throws away three out of his four bananas, Mr. Coppard, perhaps, permits himself to be just too casual.

What the author of "Adam and Eve and Pinch Me" gives us in "The Black Dog" is a prime lot of yarns, but yarns by a well-equipped and sophisticated writer. The story that gives title to the collection is not about any haunting or sinister black dog: the Black Dog of the book is a public house in an English village, a public house that is the background for a drama worked out between the beautiful and subtle Orianda Crabbe, her casual inn-keeping father, the bewildered and tragic Lizzie, and the not too adventurous Gerald Loughlin. It is a very good story, indeed, a story memorable for the sight it gives us of the cool and beautiful, but somewhat tarnished Orianda.

In most of these eighteen stories there is a character that is firmly held and firmly brought across to us. After Orianda Crabbe there is Simple Simon, who lived lonely in the depth of a forest, and who said he would go seeking the sweet of heaven, for what was there in the mortal world to detain him! He meets a scholar, who gives him a coat to look decent in with the scholar's own sins-unbeknownst to him-left in wallet of sowskin in a secret pocket in it. Then there is John Pettigrove, who was district registrar in Tull and who gave his devotion to a handsome lady who was for a while near him. There is a church in this story that has about it "the indulgent dimness under trees, and the tower with its unmoving clock, the very delicacy of solitude," and there is a wood that has "deep in the heart of it all . . . a lovely open space covered with the greenest grass and a hawthorn tree in the middle of that." At the end of it there are men digging a grave on "a summer's day so everlastingly beautiful that it was incredible anyone should be dead." It is the sort of a story Thomas Hardy might write if he could ever bring himself to think with lightness upon the casualness of things.

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One-Night Stands

Red Bear or Yellow Dragon. By Marguerite E. Harrison. George H. Doran Company. \$3.

I F Marguerite Harrison had made her "Red Bear or Yellow Dragon" a pure adventure story, showing just how far she, alone and armed only with a typewriter, could stalk strange Eastern game, it would have carried an unmistakable appeal; that is, provided she had adhered more closely to her own adventure instead of wandering off so much to assail people who are not relevant to the main theme; provided she had broadcasted fewer and less malicious bits of sheer gossip en route. We would have accepted her own portrait for the frontispiece and the numerous personal illustrations that succeed it as part and parcel of a unified tale.

Of course the individual required some excuse for her adventure, some acknowledged object, in order to win the right-of-way here, there, and everywhere, and it is the excuse Mrs. Harrison chose which spoils her tale. She made her goal too comprehensive. Her exploits are consequently as mild as their object is magnificent. To be specific. Hearing that "the Far East is in the grip of two new world forces"—Russia and Japan—Mrs. Harrison sailed the seas to "pick up the loose ends of the story and grasp the inner meaning of their movements." "Asia, the eternal sphinx, was devising new riddles for the West to guess" and, determined to overcome every obstacle and danger, she went forth to guess them and indeed to make of her answers "a political weather chart" for folks back home.

Mrs. Harrison knew in advance what the riddles were. She lists them on her first page.

What were the actual reactions to the decisions of the Washington Conference? What was the real attitude of Japan toward naval disarmament? What were the new movements and tendencies that would influence the shaping of Japan's future internal and external policies? How far could the agreements of the Powers with regard to the Far East be carried out without reckoning with the Rus-

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sian Bear? What was the extent of Soviet influence in Mongolia? To what extent had Red propaganda taken root among the Yellow peoples? What had happened in Korea since the abortive revolution of 1919? Was the chaos in China more apparent than real? What was the real significance of the Pan-Asiatic movement?

To find solutions for these mighty riddles, Mrs. Harrison explored for many months. But how? She interviewed all sorts of people, visited temples, went to a tea house with an all-foreign company, drank ceremonial tea, saw the drama, lived for a time with legation folk in that "whispering gallery of the world," Peking, got the idea in Shanghai that the Chinese are thinking about extra-territoriality, and then journeyed by boat, wagonette, tarantás, into the storm center of Eastern politics, Mongolia. She slept in izbas. She barely escaped hungry wolves. She was arrested and spent weary days in prison.

The solutions of the riddles are finally offered us in 296 pages, which

do not pretend to be a serious analysis of Far Eastern problems. They are a record almost day by day of my own experiences, together with bits of information gathered here and there, descriptions of what I actually saw at first hand, first hand conversations and gossip, sometimes second hand. . . Intimate glimpses into the lives of Ah Foo, Ivan, and Suzuki, not dry facts about our neighbors on the other side of the Pacific are what we need to make us realize that their problems are our own as well.

It is a dauntless adventurer indeed who thinks that intimate glimpses into the lives of the great or the near-great can be obtained in one-night stands or in single interviews. Mrs. Harrison's lines about the head of the Japanese Federation of Labor show the way she overcame all obstacles:

Organized labor was decidedly weak in Japan but I was very anxious to get an idea of its aims and its extent; so one day I went to call on Mr. Suzuki Bundji, the trades union leader. A few years ago Bundji was constantly persecuted and pursued by the government, but later it changed its tactics with regard to the labor problem and it made a sort of Samuel Gompers of Bundji who was consequently despised by the real laborites as a traitor. I found him an exceedingly fat, smug, self-satisfied little man, full of high-sounding phrases, but obviously insincere, and I could readily believe all the things I heard about him.

That is all. There are no "dry facts" as to why the government changed its tactics with regard to the labor problem and the significance of that change nor is any help given on the dry fact as to who constitute the "real laborites." "Suzuki is fat"; but so is Buddha. Suzuki smiles; but so does the Sphinx. Mrs. Harrison doesn't even recognize the smile on the Sphinx when she encounters it.

The newspapers, the woman movement, and other social forces in Japan Mrs. Harrison dismisses as lightly and as innocently as the labor movement. Otherwise dry facts would have got in the way of personal judgments and hearsay. They would have held her longer in camp. They would have postponed the joy of the open road. But she frankly forestalls all criticism of her work. "I offer no apology," says she.

MARY BEARD

Books in Brief

Cane. By Jean Toomer. Boni and Liveright. \$2.

This series of sketches which waver between the short story and the prose poem is sometimes maddeningly difficult to read, because every sentence which one attempts to treat as prose falls into a marked if irregular rhythm, while the next, which one has decided to treat as verse, remains unmistakable prose—but it is worth the effort required. The sketches describe incidents in the life of the modern Negro in the midst of an alien and hostile civilization and they have an emotional tone,

mystic, wailing, and melancholy, which is obviously a real expression of a racial spirit never made fully articulate except in music.

Dog and Duck. By Arthur Machen. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

Mr. Machen discusses in a gravely beautiful style the old English game of dog and duck, May-day customs, the obnoxious futility of liberalism, and other such subjects of interest to the Chestertonian conservative and the members of the cakes-andale school of modern Catholicism. "The two most extravagant and improbable books in the world," he says for example, "are Euclid and the Arabian Nights; but of the two by far the most improbable and extravagant is Euclid." It is not possible for anyone to fail to admire Mr. Machen as a stylist, but only minds with his own peculiar twist will receive from him intense pleasure.

Poems. By J. E. Spingarn. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$2.

The collected verse of a liberal critic and an established scholar. The results of almost twenty-five years of effort in poetry might have been richer and more varied; but Mr. Spingarn's urge has steadily been toward freedom and beauty, and his work, if somewhat thin, has an impressive integrity.

What the Butler Winked At. By Eric Horne. Thomas Seltzer. \$3.

A most amusing and at the same time an enlightening account of life Belowstairs, with a piquant "inside" on the habits of those Above. The grave, slightly illiterate style is humorous as Daisy Ashford's was humorous. And from this composite of details which strive to make a reality of what to most of us is still romance is built up a more subtle picture: the aspect and attitudes of a mind in livery.

You Too. By Roger Burlingame. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Art, love, and business; one of the eternal triangles. In this case, as in so many, business and love are in league against art. The struggle is set forth in the best American-fiction style, with vigor, color, and humor as the keynotes. The treatment is crisp, if not profound; the characters real, though strangely immature. The most novel feature of the story is that it treats marriage neither as a goal nor a point of departure, but as a relationship to be entered with a realization of crisis, and to continue indefinitely, however unstable its equilibrium. The book aims to be epic; it succeeds in being highly readable.

Other People's Lives. By Henry Albert Phillips. Boni and Liveright. \$2.

This analysis of Suburbia deals with material more common to the stage than to the novel. It reads like a digest of the hundred most successful first-year comedies. And it displays the same mixture of semi-farcical event and pseudopsychic interest which makes these so popular a means of killing time. The characters are shallow, hackneyed, and inconsequential; the book is—to scale.

The Sin-Eater's Hallowe'en. A Fantasy in One Act and Two Scenes. By Francis Neilson. B. W. Huebsch. \$1.50.

A fantasy indeed. The important figures of the Peace Conference gather at a lonely inn, steal sandwiches from one another, mistake Uncle Sam for the waiter, and find the Hermit of Doorn the least aggressive war-lord among their whole number. The play turns ingeniously on an old custom of eating Dead-Cakes to absolve the sins of the departed, but the symbolism lacks all subtlety and is leavened with so little reality that it topples of its own weight.

The Gay Ones. By Charles Hansen Towne. The Century Company. \$2.

Jaded Long Island flappers of both sexes carry on a grim,

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hysterical search for unplumbed pleasures. All real interest in this feverish social program soon fades, alike for flappers and reader. The few conclusions which the author draws are quite accurate, but so general and obvious in character as to add little to what has already been said about the modern high-speed dilettante.

Sonnets and Verse. By Hilaire Belloc. Robert M. McBride and Company. \$2.75.

Mr. Belloc's collected poems, as enthusiastic as they ever were, and quite as shallow.

Drama The Trend

T HESE studies of Mr. Dukes are fragmentary. They are evidently passages lifted from reviews of single plays. They contain many sentences very keen-edged in meaning and felicitous in phrasing but not likely to convey much to one who has not a fairly intimate acquaintance with the subject under discussion. What is remarkable about Mr. Dukes's little book is the fine catholicity of his appreciations. He has an apt word to say, this British reviewer, on O'Neill, Richman, Vildrac, Kaiser, Elmer Rice, Capek, Pirandello, Toller, and Unruh. What is strange is that he treats Hauptmann, Shaw, Schnitzler, Porto-Riche as forerunners of these very latest groups of realists, comedians, expressionists, poets and historians, which, on some obscure principle of division, he has established.

The grouping attempted by Mr. Dukes does not conceal the fact that there is nothing new in the drama of our day except that technique of speed and subjectivity which, inspired partly by Strindberg, partly by Wedekind, goes under the name of expressionism. And what is equally clear is that this new genre is essentially unproductive. This barrenness will appear so soon as we compare the rise of expressionism with the rise of realism and naturalism in the drama. No sooner had Antoine founded his Théâtre Libre than solid and profoundly interesting works began to appear. Hervieu, Brieux, Porto-Riche, Ancey, Donnay, and many others came forward. The plays of all these playwrights were not permanent in value. But they all had life, vigor, pertinence. Similarly the Freie Bühne of Berlin produced not only Hauptmann. The contemporary Viennese movement did not produce only Schnitzler. But from Halbe and Hirschfeld and Frau Bernstein to Schönherr the realistic or naturalistic movement had in it the principle of life, of a rich and abundant life.

It was not otherwise with the neo-romantic reaction against the "bitter plays," as Rostand called them, of the Northern school. There was Rostand himself; there was Maeterlinck; there was Richepin; there were the Irish dramatists; there were Hofmannsthal and Hardt and Stucken and Volmoeller and Greiner and Eulenberg. And occasionally there was an isolated drama truly in the grand style, like Richard Beer-Hoffmann's "Der Graf von Charolais" which, significantly enough, they are reviving with marked success in Vienna now. Here as in the naturalistic movement there was life.

One may say, of course, that the war robbed the drama of creative vigor, of creative abundance. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that the "youngest drama," as Mr. Dukes calls it, has the mark, the very fatal mark of barrenness. Mr. Dukes himself still talks of "From Morn to Midnight," of Unruh's "Ein Geschlecht," and is glad to add to these, as I, too, have been, the American examples: "The Hairy Ape," "The Adding Machine." This does not, to be sure, tell the whole Mr. Dukes does not know Paul Kornfeld, nor Hans Johst, nor the later things of Hasenclever. He does not, above

all, know Franz Werfel. But the works of these men, too-and Werfel is a great poet-have little or no dramatic vitality, Drama, after all, must have spiritual resonance of some sort, directness of appeal, by whatever method achieved. Runes, rid. dles, pictures, lyrics, tirades, symbols-these have no dramatic effectiveness, no dramatic force and life. And this tenuous, wavering, fundamentally feeble breath flickers also in the chief new playwrights of the Latin peoples-Claudel and Pirandello, We seem to have entered into a period of masks. The strong voice of the drama has been subdued to the gentle chanting of maskers under a dim and ceremonial light.

Prophecy is proverbially foolish and futile. To define the essential character of the present situation may be helpful at least to this extent: it may persuade some gifted playwright to believe that both excellence and fame are today within the reach of him who, liberating himself from the subtleties and symbol. isms, the half-lights and half-tones of the hour, lets the eternal voice of man acting and suffering and thus speaking-not hinting or murmuring-arise once more upon those boards which. as Schiller said long ago, are meant to signify and body forth the world. LUDWIG LEWISOHN

LECTURES and DEBATES

Farewell Lecture BERTRAND RUSSELL

subject "How to Be Free and Happy"

AT COOPER UNION, WED. EVE., May 28, at 8:15
NORMAN HAPGOOD, Chairman.
Farewell Committee Headed by
REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES and HETWOOD BROUN
Tickets—83c and \$1.10—All Seats Reserved. For Sale, starting
May 9, at Rand School, 7 E. 15th St. and Civic Club, 14 W. 12th St.
Auspices Free Youth. Room 504. 7 East 15th St. Stuyvesant 4620.

LABOR TEMPLE, 14th St. & 2nd Ave. DR. WILL DURANT lectures

Sundays at 5 P. M., Wednesdays at 8:30 P. M.
May 18: Remy de Gourmont
June 1: Gerhart Hauptmann
June 15: Artzíbashez

June 18: Santayana June 1: Gerhart Hauptmann
June 15: Artzibashez
Admission
June 18
June 18
June 18

DEBATE—Resolved: That Communism Is Impracticable

Affirmative: WILL DURANT Negative: HARRY WATON

Chairman: HARRY DANA

Labor Temple, 14th St. & 2d Ave., 8.15 p.m. sharp, May 22. All tickets at 75 cents; sale limited to 700; obtainable at 239 East 14th St.

DEBATE of the Day!

BERTRAND RUSSELI versus SCOTT

NEARING

Chairman SAMUEL UNTERMYER SUBJECT:

SOVIET IDEA take hold of AMERICA ENGLAND and FRANCE?

RESOLVED: That the Soviet form of government is applicable to Western civilization MR. RUSSELL, Negative

USSELL, Negative MR. NEARING, Affirmative Sunday, May 25th, 1924, at 3 P.M.

CARNEGIE HALL, 57th St. and 7th Avenue
Tickets: \$3.00, \$2.50, \$2.50, \$1.50, and \$1.00 plus war tax
On sale at Carnegie Hall Box Office, 57th St. and 7th Ave.
Jimmie Higgins Book Shop, 127 University Pl., nr. 14th.
Gothic Art Book Shop, 127-2nd Ave., near 12th St.
Maise's Book Store, 424 Grand St., cor. Attorney.
Epstein's Drug Store, 1674 Madison Ave., near 110th St.
M. Stern's Jewelry Store, 1337 Wilkins Ave., Bronx.
Katz's Drug Store, 78 Graham Ave., Williamsburg.
Neidorf's Book Store, 1817 Pitkin Ave., Brownsville.
or by mail and in person at offices of
The League for Public Discussion
500 Fifth Ave., New York Longacre 10435-6384

500 Fifth Ave., New York Longacre 10435-6384

The Youngest Drama. Studies of Fifty Dramatists. By Ashley Dukes Chicago: Charles H. Sergel and Company. \$2.50.

International Relations Section

The Decline of German Labor

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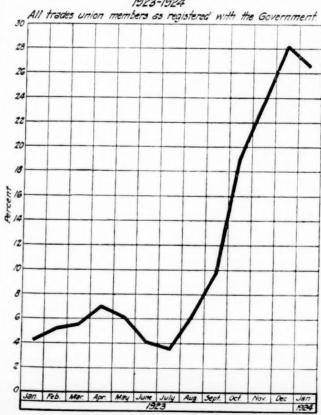
By BORIS STERN

In the smoke of battle between the government printing presses and the mark, the German working class suffered a terrific blow. Trapped in the maze of zeros the individual workman could not for a moment turn his eyes away from his daily cares to see what was happening immediately outside his family circle, to his union or the labor movement as a whole. There were, of course, some who profited from this abnormal situation. In spite of the constant fall of the mark a rapid move in buying his necessities was often sufficient to recompense a worker for the losses he suffered in getting paid in paper marks. Everyone who could only spare his millions or billions and later trillions of marks for a day or so to acquire some foreign currency did so.

But this abnormal condition was suddenly brought to a stop. The stabilization of the mark in the last days of November, as a result of the introduction of the rentenmark and the decision of the Government to give up printing more paper notes, the introduction of the gold-mark reckoning in the retail businesses and in the payment of wages brought the mass of German workmen and salaried employees face to face with the naked reality. The high nervous tension of the days of the falling mark is disappearing from their faces. They know today—if they still have jobs—how much they are getting for their work and what they can do with it.

It seems to be the fate of Germany to present the world with the most curious economic phenomena—this time, a combination of a depreciating currency with a rapidly grow-

UNEMPLOYMENT PERCENTAGE IN GERMANY 1923-1924



ing unemployment problem. The number of unemployed in Germany began to rise at the end of July, just when the mark experienced the first really tremendous fall—one gold mark in July was on the average worth 33,000 paper marks, while the August average value was 585,000 paper marks. The paper mark experienced the following sensational drops:

- 1 gold mark in August was worth 585,000 paper marks.
- 1 gold mark in September was worth 15 million paper marks.
- 1 gold mark in October was worth 5 billion paper marks.
- 1 gold mark in November was worth over 1 trillion paper marks.

Since November the paper mark has, in general, been stabilized at one trillion paper marks to one gold mark. Meanwhile, the number of unemployed jumped from 6.3 per cent, according to the government reports in August, to 9.9 per cent of the same basis in September, 19.1 per cent in October, and 23.4 per cent in November. The government figures are based upon the registered membership of the three big tradeunion organizations, Socialist, Catholic, and Hirsch-Dunker, including the mass of the German industrial workers. The figures for various industries in January, 1924, were:

Industry	Trade-Union Membership (Round Figures)	Per Cent (Unemployed)	Per Cent (Part Time)
Metal	1,352,000	27.1	60.2
Textile	687,000	9.4	16.4
Building Trades	496,000	71.1	8.5
Transportation	437,000	18.5	13.5
Woodworkers	383,000	21.9	17.0
Foodstuffs	240,000	14.4	8.9
Leather	199,000	13.7	18.0
Clothing	166,000	20.8	10.5
Stone and Marble	128,000	43.8	14.6
Printing	108,000	21.4	14.2
Bookbinding	63,000	27.6	30.9
Other industries to-			
gether	1,000,000	23.2	20.6
Total	5,259,000	26.5	

With such a rate of unemployment what are the conditions of those workers who have been lucky enough to retain their jobs? What are their wages and hours of work?

In the printing industry the wages were put on a gold-mark basis on November 9. In the agreement signed on that date and covering the entire country the wages were set for the week of November 10-16 at 25 gold marks, 72.72 per cent of the pre-war wage, and for the period of November 17-December 31 at 27 gold marks per week, or 78.53 per cent of the pre-war wage. This is the wage of a first-class printer, and includes the highest payment to which a married man with a wife and two minor children is entitled. In the chemical industry a skilled first-class worker in Berlin received in the period of November 21-December 11 a wage of 24.96 gold marks per week, 78.53 per cent of his pre-war wage, and an unskilled factory laborer received 22.80 gold marks per week, or more than 90 per cent of the wage he received prior to the war.

In the Berlin metal industry a skilled first-class worker was being paid on December last at the rate of 31.44 gold marks for a 48-hour week, or 77 per cent of the pre-war wage, and the unskilled worker received precisely the same proportion of his pre-war wage of 30.52 gold marks. On January 3, 1924, the wage agreement was suddenly broken

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up by the Association of the Metal Employers of Greater Berlin, and more than 150,000 metal workers were thrown out of their shops because of the refusal of their union to agree to a 14 per cent all-around cut in their wages. The newly appointed government arbitrator for the city of Berlin immediately invited the representatives of the two sides for a conference in his office, but the employers refused to recognize his authority because of his political and tradeunion affiliations. (He was a Socialist and had belonged to the Metal Workers' Union.) The new agreement finally signed calls for a reduction of from 4 to 5 per cent instead of the 14 per cent demanded.

The Government too has gone over to a gold-mark basis of remunerating its employees and officials. The employees are put on a weekly wage of 24 gold marks for the skilled workers, 64.06 per cent of their pre-war earnings, and 20.64 gold marks for the unskilled workers, 65.9 per cent of the pre-war wage. Higher officials receive up to 78.04 per cent of their former salaries.

Although the earnings of the great majority of the German workers and salaried employees thus average 25 to 35 per cent below their pre-war standard, and this does not take note of the general 10 per cent employment tax deducted at the source of income, the prices of foodstuffs and other immediate necessities in February were still above their 1913-1914 level and this in spite of the sensational drop in the last days of November and in the first week of December. Retail prices seem to have stabilized somewhat as follows:

Article					Price 1913-1914 Average Gold	Price Month of Feb. 4, 1924 d Mark	Per Cent of 1913-1914 Average
Black bread,	per	lb.	(500	grams)	.14	.14	100
Beef	46	44	44	44	.88	1.10	125
Potatoes	46	44	44	46	.04	.04	100
Lard	44	44	66	64	.70	.80	114
Butter	66	44	44	44	1.35	2.50	190
Margarine	44	44	44	44	.90	.75	83
Rice	64	66	64	64	.25	.24	96
Sugar	44	64	44	66	.22	.44	200
Eggs (each)					.09	.20	220
Milk, per lite	er				.24	.33	138
Laundry soa	p (1	ar))		.25	.30	120
Haircut					.25	.80	320
Car fare					.10	.15	150

Rents alone were still on a paper-mark basis and far below the 1913-1914 average. But on February 1 gold-mark rents were introduced, beginning a rate of 28 per cent of the pre-war basis, to be followed by monthly increases of 5 per cent until in a little over a year the full pre-war rents will be reestablished.

The employers naturally find this a favorable moment to attack the eight-hour day.* They had never really reconciled themselves to it; the 1922 report of the United Employers' Associations of Germany maintained that unless the eight-hour day was abandoned Germany would never be able to rise from the chaos into which it had been plunged by the revolution.

Hugo Stinnes said on November 9, 1922:

I do not regard the eight-hour day merely as a question with which the working class alone is concerned, but as a problem upon which the entire industry and with it all Germany is at stake. I believe that the leaders of the unions will soon realize that if the workers are to make a

living . . . they will have to work more, two hours more per day.

His prophecy has come true. The German working class is now living in a state of misery and starvation and is n_0 longer in a position to defend itself against the attack of the employers. The eight-hour day is rapidly becoming a thing of the past in practice if not in theory. The Government has modified the eight-hour laws by decrees.

The spirit of cooperation between the employers and the union-organized workers represented in the Joint councils (Arbeitsgemeinschaften) has been completely thrown overboard. Full play is given to the frank and brutal methods of the class struggle of the pre-revolutionary days, so much so that wherever they see the slightest chance of success the employers refuse to recognize the unions and again make separate agreements with the individual workers.

Meanwhile, of course, the trade-union organizations have suffered by the fall of the mark and the poverty of their members. By last November the general offices of the Trade Union Federation, as well as the individual unions. were absolutely without funds, without a press, and, some might say, even without a membership. All the works. council papers, and some of the trade weeklies which had been in existence for thirty-five to forty years, had ceased to appear, while most of the others appeared irregularly, whenever the union could secure enough funds to put one issue across. The stabilization of the mark, however, has saved the unions—a new spirit begins to make itself felt within the ranks and among the leaders of the unions, a spirit of consolidation in preparation for the coming struggle. The press is beginning to reappear regularly, although in a very diminished form, mostly one sheet of about seven inches by ten. The general office in Berlin, although forced to discharge more than half its own employees, and to replace the Correspondenzblatt (a weekly which owes its birth to the big strikes of 1891), the Betriebsrätezeitung, the Gewerkschaftliche Frauenzeitung, and the irregular Gewerkschaftliche Nachrichtdienst by a single new weekly, the Gewerkschaftszeitung, has already issued the call to the mobilization. The eight-hour day has been lost, and the workers will have to make other concessions in their unequal struggle against reaction, but the trade unions remain, and with them remains the only element upon which a real democratic Germany can be built-

Women of All Lands, Unite!

By HELEN BUCKLER

A LTHOUGH members of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom were heralded by certain superpatriots as "representatives of sovietism," and threatened with the surveillance of both the War Department and the Department of Justice, with an added hint of direct violent intervention on the part of the American Legion, nevertheless one hundred delegates, representing the internationally minded women of thirty-two countries. conducted their fourth biennial congress in Washington, D. C., the first week in May. Intolerance or even ridicule could be of but small moment to a group of women who had never counted expediency among their virtues and who first came together to cry out for peaceable ways when half the world was pooled in blood and passions ran even higher than they do in the backwaters of Washington today.

In a subsequent issue we shall publish an account by Sylvia Kopald of the attack on the eight-hour day throughout Europe.

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In 1915 there were fourteen countries, belligerent as well as neutral, represented in the International Congress of Women that met at the Hague, and two thousand persons attended the meetings. Resolutions embodying many of the principles afterwards expressed in the Fourteen points were carried by special delegates to the governments of fourteen countries and forty-three private conferences were held with high officials.

This year, without the high pitch set by a dramatic background of active war and with the discouragement of a world armed again to the teeth, France still illegally in the Ruhr, the United States wantonly slapping Japan in the face, the Woman's International League met again "to find a way to reorganize international relations through the political and economic and spiritual forces which underlie all human endeavor." They did not, of course, in fourteen sessions and six public meetings completely envisage a new international order, and Dr. Williams of England pointed out that to do so would only be "to hang new chains on our necks."

Although some vitality was undoubtedly taken from the congress by an extended preliminary executive meeting and while most of the foreign delegates had talked themselves out during the week on board ship, still there was animated discussion—not of principle, for that had been settled long ago—but of method and next steps.

"We cannot condemn the violence and not the causes" stated the manifesto of aims and plan for work unanimously adopted by the congress. Moreover, "we devote ourselves to abolishing these causes. The first step toward this end must be to bring about the organization of economic life not for individual or class profit but for the highest possible development of every human being." Once more the congress declared for an international organization, based not on force but the welded moral opinion of the world, comprising all countries in genuine equality, working to protect minorities, improve conditions of labor, promote international education and health, the welfare of backward races, establishment of free trade, equitable distribution of food supplies and raw materials among the nations, and the total disarmament of its members.

It was indicative of the desire for practicability present in a large element of the congress that a hundred persons gathered one day in the interlude between sessions and again the next day and the next to discuss and compare the ways and means of labor banks, cooperative guilds, reduced taxation on buildings with corresponding increases on unimproved land, cooperative housing, trade unionism and employment, illness and endowment insurance in the United States and abroad.

The executive committee recommended and the congress accepted without discussion a rewording and clarification of the objects of the League:

The Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom aims at binding together women in every country who oppose all war and all preparation for war, whether offensive or defensive, international or civil. They believe in and work for complete and universal disarmament on land, on sea, and in the air; for the abolition of the hunger blockade and of the prostitution of science for destructive purposes; world organization for social, political, and economic equality for all without distinction of sex, race, class, and creed; moral disarmament through education in the spirit of human unity and through the establishment of social justice.

The United States Section considerably democratized its constitution and tied up the statement of its objects more specifically to those of the international organization. This was an abstract affair. When it came to passing a concrete resolution backing up the proposed equal-rights blanket amendment, a convinced majority was lacking. The women of the local section were much more willing to accept ideals and ultimate goals than "next steps"; there was a discouraging evidence that only a few United States members were politically and economically informed.

Numerous excellent resolutions were passed by both the United States Section and the International Congress, but perhaps the real keynote of the meeting should be found in Ellen Key's message: "I have no belief in resolutions of congresses, but I believe in martyrs, men and women moved by faith in their ideals." Of these the W. I. L. has a goodly number and in these lie its strength and perhaps the world's hope.

Unamuno

THE following protest against the exile of Don Miguel de Unamuno was recently issued by the Catalonian Cultural Committee of New York City:

What has been done by the military directorate in Spain has no precedents, even in Russian Czarism or Italian Fascism. Czarism never treated Tolstoi or Dostoevski as the Spanish General Primo de Rivera has treated the Spanish thinker Don Miguel de Unamuno.

Don Miguel de Unamuno is in Spain what Tolstoi was in Russia, what D'Annunzio is in Italy, Anatole France in France, Maeterlinck in Belgium, Bernard Shaw in England. He is the glory of the Spanish nation. Don Miguel de Unamuno has made Spanish culture famous. The depth and human understanding of his work remove it from the barriers of nations and the bonds of time. His work has been translated into all languages, and has been studied and discussed throughout the world. He has created power and beauty.

Don Miguel de Unamuno, professor of Greek at the University of Salamanca, and dean of it as well, has done a great work. This old university, which once rivaled the University of Paris and was the nucleus of the greatest culture of the Spanish Renaissance, was proud to have at its head the most important intellectual in Spain. Professor, novelist, teacher, critic, poet, the finest poet in Spain today, Señor Unamuno is furthermore the great agitator of modern Spanish and European life. His press campaigns, keen, able, and stimulating, found their response in the youth and life of Spain. It is for this reason that Don Miguel de Unamuno was removed from his post and taken to Fuerte Ventura, a small island lost in the Atlantic, where the excessively hot climate will soon destroy the health of the great writer.

General Primo de Rivera attempted to justify his absurd action by saying that Señor Unamuno was not fulfilling his duties at the university. But this is a lie and a base slander, because, according to the testimony of the entire faculty of the University of Salamanca, he is a model professor and dean. . . .

It must be frankly admitted that Don Miguel de Unamuno was exiled because he was an enemy. A pretext was sought. A letter from Miguel de Unamuno to Señor Solalinde, Spanish instructor in a North American university, fell into the hands of Señor Americo Castro, a well-known Spanish professor, who is living in New York, and that gentleman turned the letter over to the magazine Nosotros of Buenos Aires, which published it. In this letter Señor Unamuno, like every good Spaniard, spoke of the directorate in harsh terms. These terms, which are mild in comparison to those heard in Spain and

among groups of Spaniards abroad, and which give a mere shadow of the truth, were the cause of the sentence imposed.

In Spain the courageous intelligentsia have always been persecuted; all effective attempts at reform have always been suppressed by force. The high clergy, the nobility, the military caste, the monarchy are supported by the ignorance and poverty of the people. All that is really alive in Spain must face their opposition. . . . The Spanish military directorate, which poses as redeemer, is but the continuation of the history of Spain, black, reactionary, and ferocious.

Yet the directorate does not know what it has done in exiling Don Miguel de Unamuno... The intellectuals throughout the world have taken up the cudgels, and the Unamuno case is becoming a repetition of the case of Ferrer, who was assassinated in Montjuich by the monarchical and clerical reaction in Spain. The manifesto of French intellectuals, signed by the best men of France, is only the first move of protest. The reaction will break out everywhere....

The End of the Kiev Trial

THE recent trial of the members of the counter-revolutionary organization known as the Kiev branch of the Center of Action created much excitement outside of Russia owing to the interference of Premier Poincaré, who demanded clemency for a number of intellectuals involved in the trial. The Poincaré note was received with much resentment in the Soviet Republic. Among the protests voiced was the following statement by the defendants in the trial published in the Kiev press:

Upon learning of the Poincaré telegram which protests against the fate of some of us, we declare that, although depressed by the severe sentence, we recognize that any interference of a foreign government in the affairs of the republic is inadmissible. Our trial is exclusively a matter of the internal life of our union state and the final decision concerning our fate is up to the highest organs of our republic.

(Signed) Constantin Vassilenko, Nikolai Vassilenko, Cholgansky, Smirnov, Yakovlev, Onishchenko - Pavliuk, Chebakov, Yedinevsky, Tolpiga, Vinogradova, Kapocinskaya Leonida and Zinaida, Kutzevalova.

The sentence of all the accused was commuted and the trial referred to the Ukrainian supreme court in Kharkov.



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